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THE ROMANIC REVIEW

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GALDÓS AND MESONERO ROMANOS

THE biographers of Galdós have thus far brought to light very little about his personal and literary friendships. Aside from his relations with Pereda, Galdós was presumably prevented by his modest, retiring and timid nature from establishing and maintaining intimate contacts with his contemporaries. And even in the case of the genial author of the *Montaña*, the full story of his friendship with Galdós will not become known unless the persons possessing their correspondence¹ will make it available for study and publication. The little that has already appeared in print about the life-long attachment of the two novelists arouses the reader's curiosity without fully satisfying it.² It is hardly necessary to point out how enlightening additional knowledge would be for a definitive evaluation of the two authors in question.

Quite obviously, Pereda was not the only literary figure of the nineteenth century among Galdós' close and intimate friends.³ Clarín was perhaps the first biographer to mention the deep affection which Mesonero Romanos felt for the author of the *Episodios nacionales*. "*El Curioso Parlante*," says Clarín in support of his assertion that Galdós' knowledge of Madrid was impressive and commendable, "quería como á hijo de sus más caras aficiones al autor de los *Episodios*, y admiraba que sin haberlos vivido conociese tan bien aquellos tiempos á que Mesonero Romanos consagraba

¹ Although announced as volume XIII of the series *Obras inéditas*, the plans for the publication of the *Epistolario* of Galdós have been fairly abandoned by the heirs of the novelist, chiefly because of the unavailability of the Galdós-Pereda correspondence.

² The clearest and most penetrating statement is to be found in Clarín's *Galdós (Obras completas, tomo I, Madrid, 1912)*, pp. 21-24. Luis Antón del Olmet and Arturo García Carraffa in their *Los grandes españoles: Galdós*, Madrid, 1912, merely imply the existence of an interesting friendship by reproducing (pp. 179-191) Galdós' prologue to Pereda's *El sabor de la tierruca*. And very curiously, Galdós himself in his *Memorias*, Madrid, 1930, takes less than a page of the chapter entitled "Pereda y yo" (pp. 61-72) to make a laconic although significant statement about his relations with Pereda.

³ In the "Archivo Epistolar" of Galdós, preserved in his summer home at Santander, there is an interesting index, which Galdós himself had prepared, of the Spanish and foreign authors with whom he kept up a fairly regular correspondence; unfortunately, the letters of the most notable writers have disappeared from the files.

un culto. Yo he visto un regalo de Mesonero á Galdós . . . era un pedazo de pan — del año del hambre."⁴

But what Clarín presented objectively and disinterestedly as the admiration of a kindly old gentleman for a genial young author, Mesonero Romanos had already stated before him with evident personal, albeit justifiable, interest and pride. The *Curioso Parlante* regarded Galdós in a very real sense as the author who was in a position to realize a literary ambition which he himself had conceived but was obliged to abandon—the writing of a new *Gil Blas* exposing court life under Ferdinand VII between 1815 and 1819.

"Este mi propósito infantil," explains Mesonero Romanos the temptation which seized him as a boy of twelve or slightly older to write a nineteenth century picaresque novel, "al que resistí constantemente toda mi vida por no rozarme con la política en mis modestos escritos,⁵ le he visto realizado, sin celos, ántes bien con gran contentamiento mío, por mi jóven amigo D. Benito Perez Galdós, en uno de sus preciosos *Episodios nacionales*, que titula '*Un cortesano de 1815*.' En él ha sabido trazar un cuadro acabado de aquella corte y de aquella época, en que no se sabe qué admirar más, si la misteriosa intuición del escritor, que por su edad no pudo conocerla, ó la sagacidad y perspicacia con que, aprovechando cualquiera conversacion ó indicaciones que hubo de escuchar de mis labios, ha acertado á crear una accion dramática con tipos verosímiles, casi históricos, y desenvolverla en situaciones interesantes, todo con un estilo lleno de amenidad y galanura."⁶

In Mesonero's statement there is implied an interesting criticism of the work of Galdós, a criticism which is particularly valuable in view of the authority with which Mesonero could speak of the historical elements in *Un cortesano de 1815*. More interesting, however, is the suggestion which it contains regarding one of the sources employed by Galdós for this novel. One is led to wonder about the extent to which Galdós drew on Mesonero's memory for others of his *Episodios nacionales*.⁷ According to Mesonero's son, Francisco Mesonero Romanos, his father's usefulness to Galdós was perhaps limited to information about the court of Ferdinand VII. Evoking the *Curioso Parlante's* den, Don Francisco mentions, among the distinguished persons who occasionally occupied there the "butacas y sofá," Pérez Galdós who "lápiz en mano, venía a conocer la corte de Fernando VII, y a que le delineara cómo eran las mujeres del Monarca, con la figura de Calo-

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 33, note.

⁵ This excuse is a bit curious. Since the desire to write the supreme work of his career did not end with Mesonero's childhood years, why could he not have written it in later life with the objective impartiality which presumably characterizes Galdós' treatment of the period?

⁶ Cf. *Memorias de un reténón*, Madrid, 1880, p. 186, note.

⁷ See my article on "The Memory Element in Mesonero's *Memorias*," in *ROMANIC REVIEW*, XXI (1930) 1, pp. 42-48.

marde."⁸ Galdós possibly found Mesonero's intimate knowledge of Madrid of the early decades of the nineteenth century quite helpful on other occasions, as may be gathered from his references to the criticisms which Mesonero frequently made of minor points in his works and to the extensive correspondence exchanged between them.⁹ In this connection the disappearance of part of Galdós' correspondence is particularly regrettable.

Mesonero's affection for Galdós, of which Clarín speaks, may have been spontaneous and sincere, begotten by the admiration which the *Episodios nacionales* aroused in him; it would thus date from 1873, the year of publication of the first historical novel. Yet it may have had an earlier beginning. In 1868 Galdós published an article on Mesonero in his series "Galería de figuras de cera."¹⁰ The *Curioso Parlante* in all probability read the sketch, which must have filled him with deep gratitude to the author, obscure though he was. The effect of the incense which Galdós burned at the altar of Mesonero in 1868 could not have vanished in a day. The sketch merits a brief summary.

"Principio diciéndole á usted, Sr. D. Ramon," Galdós begins with dramatic directness, "que entre los escritores que para bien nuestro enaltecen aun las letras y el arte de España, no hay ninguno que merezca mas que usted las simpatías, la admiracion y el entusiasmo de este su servidor y parroquiano, que hoy se ha echado á cuestras el inmenso compromiso de trazar las principales figuras histórico-literarias de este gran Museo." Apologetically and with great trepidation Galdós proceeds to sketch admirably, despite his "grosero pincel," a likeness of his subject, which he labels "el genio de Madrid personificado en un literato." In his justification of this label the youthful journalist is, in a sense, expressing a personal hope—that he may some day develop the very qualities which he admires so sincerely in the *Curioso Parlante*. ". . . y para que se haya producido esta incomprendible fusion de un hombre y una ciudad," Galdós explains with genuine enthusiasm, "¡ cuánto amor ha sido necesario! ¡ qué interés filial por las cosas de la villa natal! ¡ qué deseo de enaltecerle! ¡ qué respeto profundo á su pasado! ¡ qué noble anhelo de su esplendor futuro! ¡ qué orgullo por su origen, por sus glorias, por su nombre!" It would not be far-fetched to assume that the inspiration derived from the reading of Mesonero's works was relatively potent in formulating Galdós' determination to become the epic chronicler of modern Madrid. His admiration in this sketch is so pro-

⁸ Cf. "Desde su despacho," prologue to *Panorama matritense*, Madrid, 1925, p. 8.

⁹ Cf. El Bachiller Corchuelo, "Benito Pérez Galdós," in *Por esos mundos*, XI (1910) 186, pp. 27-56.

¹⁰ Cf. "Galería de figuras de cera: X, Mesonero Romanos," in *La nación*, Madrid, March 8, 1868. All the quotations in the following paragraph are from this sketch.

found, that his critical self is intimidated from passing judgment upon the literary value of Mesonero's writings, and he eases his conscience by raising the question whether in the case of an author who is neither a novice nor without merit it would not be impertinence to attempt an evaluation of his work. "¿No tacharíais de impertinente al que en estos tiempos empezara á probar que *El Lazarillo de Tormes* es una gran obra?" And thus, contrary to his own resolve, Galdós has appraised Mesonero's satirical articles more concretely although less sanely than he might have done if he had indulged in the "largas y minuciosas consideraciones críticas" which earlier in the same paragraph he promised to avoid.

Six years less one day after the publication of the sketch just summarized Galdós was inspired once again to put pen to paper in praise of Mesonero Romanos. Returning from his first visit at the home of the venerable *costumbrista* of Madrid, he was apparently moved to record his impressions in diary form. The account of the visit in 1874 deserves to be reproduced in its entirety, if for no other reason because it has never been published before.¹¹ It constitutes, incidentally, the only documentary explanation of the beginning of the friendship between Galdós and Mesonero Romanos.¹²

"7 de Marzo de 1874

"D Ramon de Mesoneros dijo á un amigo mio que deseaba conocerme. Pocos dias despues de llegar esto á mi noticia, encontré en casa de Cámara¹³ una targeta de aquel insigne literato, en la cual me suplicaba que fuese á su casa. Fui á eso de las dos y al punto me recibió. Estaba *El Curioso Parlante* en su despacho y cuando entre hallabase en mangas de camisa. Se vestía.

"Recibiome amablemente y con cariño, hizome sentar á su lado, y me rogó que hablase alto, porque,—decía—*me he quedado sordo*. Me causó extrañeza encontrar en él una energía y una locuacidad viva y pintoresca, pues yo le conceptuaba mas decaído. Tiene ahora 71 años. Se expresa aun con muchisima gracia y vehemencia: constantemente lleva la mano á la cabeza para arreglarse la peluca, ó á los espejuelos que suelen inclinarsele de un lado. Le gusta llevar la voz en la conversacion, y la circunstancia de la sordera, dificultando al interlocutor el hacerse oír, contribuye que él hable mucho. Su conversacion no puede ser mas agradable, y relata sucesos pasados con una amenidad encantadora.

"Primero me dijo que había leído con sumo gusto mis *Episodios Nacionales*. Sobre la mesa tenia *Napoleon en Chamartin* publicado el dia anterior.

¹¹ It has been preserved, together with several other pages of what was presumably intended to be a diary, by the novelist's daughter, Doña María Pérez-Galdós de Verde, to whom I am deeply indebted for permission to use it in this study.

¹² The account of the visit is here reproduced without any changes whatsoever.

¹³ Galdós' publisher and friend.

"'Yo creí que era Vd. persona de mas edad,' me dijo. 'He preguntado por Vd. en la librería de Duran, y allí me han dicho que era Vd. joven.'"

"Añadió que me tenía por de su escuela, lo mismo que Pereda, y me espresó una gran benevolencia.

"Luego dijo, despues de señalarme algunas inexactitudes locales de mis *Episodios*, que él podría darme abundantes noticias y datos si no de 1808, de 1823 en adelante. Su memoria es prodigiosa, y en p(r)ueba de ello, me recitó una composicion de D Teodoro La Calle,¹⁴ que aprendió á los quince años.

"Ha tenido particular empeño en tratar á todos los hombres que han figurado en su epoca, y á todos los ha conocido desde Riego hasta Castelar. Jamas ha vivido del presupuesto, y su ambicion se cifra en la estimacion que merece como literato, y en la dorada mediania de que disfruta.

"Me contó como habia conocido en Paris á Godoy.

"'Deseando verle,' dijo, 'me fui á su casa, cuarto piso en la calle (Mouffetard?)'¹⁵ El mismo salió á abrirme. Vivía muy pobremente, y segun me dijeron salía en persona á proveerse de lo necesario en la *epicerie* de enfrente. Preguntome que qué se pensaba de él en España, y le contesté que no se le guardaba animadversion ninguna. Entonces dijo con su acento entre italiano y francés: "Daria lo que resta de vida por *face una promenade* en el Prado"

"Tambien vió en Londres á José Bonaparte ex Rey de España, y no hay hombre notable en ninguna clase social que él no haya conocido.

"Hizome mil ofrecimientos, y me despedí. La visita á Mesonero Romanos, me ha sido sumamente agradable."

Thus began a friendship which for Galdós probably had a personal as well as a literary significance. In all likelihood it lasted until the death of the *Curioso Parlante* in 1882. Its full meaning will perhaps come to light some day when the letters exchanged between Mesonero Romanos and Galdós are made accessible to the students of Spanish letters of the nineteenth century.

H. CHONON BERKOWITZ

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¹⁴ Teodoro de la Calle, according to Mesonero; cf. *op. cit.*, p. 196, note.

¹⁵ This name seems to be a guess on the part of Galdós for the rue Mouffetard is located in the 22d Arrondissement, back of the Pantheon; Mesonero himself refers to it as "una calle detras del pasaje de la Opera, cuyo nombre no recuerdo." Cf. *op. cit.*, page 24.

UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF PIERRE BAYLE

(Continued)¹

VI. BAYLE RECTIFIES THE *MÉNAGIANA* ON HIS CONVERSION
(1693-1694)

IN 1693, about a year after Ménage's death (July 23, 1692), his friends issued the *Ménagiana*, a record of his opinions, witticisms, and reminiscences which they had noted down from memory.² One of the contributors was the lawyer, Pinsson de Riollès, one of Bayle's assiduous correspondents, with whom he exchanged letters at least from 1693 to 1705.³ It is to him that on June 25, 1693, as soon as he had read the volume, Bayle sent some corrections for the *Ménagiana* account of his early conversion to Catholicism, and his studying under the direction of the Jesuits at Toulouse. These rectifications were of importance, since the *Ménagiana* seemed to insinuate that the expenses of Bayle's education had been entirely defrayed by the Catholic Bishop of Rieux, Monseigneur Bertier,⁴ whereas, in fact, Bayle had received only temporary help from this source. He must evidently have realized that this presentation of his "apostasy" in an unfavorable light would doubtlessly be detrimental to him in the eyes of both Catholics and Protestants. There is no doubt that he expected these statements to be

¹ Cf. *ROMANIC REVIEW*, XXII, July-September, 1931, pp. 210-217; *Idem*, XXIII, January-March, 1932, pp. 20-23; *Idem*, XXIII, April-June, 1932, pp. 117-128; "Unpublished Letters of Pierre Bayle to His Mother (1671-1672)," *Leuvenische Bijdragen*, Louvain, XXIV, 1932, pp. 47-50.

² Among the collaborators we may name: Louis Boivin (1649-1724), member of the Académie des Inscriptions; Antoine Galland (1646-1715), famous Orientalist, traveller, translator of the *Thousand and One Nights*, and professor of Arabic in the Collège de France; Abbé J.-B. Dubos (1670-1742), future author of the well-known *Réflexions critiques sur la Poésie et la Peinture*, then a recently promoted Bachelor of the Sorbonne (1691); the numismatist Charles de Valois (1671-1747), "antiquaire du roy," son of the historian Adrien de Valois, or Valesius (1607-1692), etc. The *Ménagiana ou les bons Mots et les Remarques critiques, historiques, morales et d'érudition de Monsieur Ménage, recueillies par ses Amis* . . . appeared first in one volume in 1693; the following year Abbé Faydit published an enlarged edition in two volumes; and this was followed by a third republication in four volumes due to de La Monnoye, in 1715. Other editions appeared in 1695 (one in Paris, and another in Amsterdam), 1713, 1716, 1729 and 1789.

³ Cf. *ROMANIC REVIEW*, XXIII, no. 2, April-June, 1932, p. 122, note 18.

⁴ A short extract from this letter has been published by Des Maizeaux in his *Vie de Mr. Bayle*, footnote A, accompanied by the notation: "Cette lettre n'a point été imprimée." We are printing the entire letter from the Columbia University Manuscript of Letters by Bayle.

rectified in future editions. We shall see further on that his desire was not heeded.

The *Ménagiana*⁵ had stated: "Il paroît que M. Bayle a dessein de faire un ouvrage touchant les fautes que les Biographes ont fait en parlant de la mort et de la naissance des Savans; mais c'est une matière qui est bien sèche: cependant comme il a de l'esprit, elle peut devenir riche entre ses mains. Je meurs d'envie de voir l'essai de son Dictionnaire critique qu'il nous a promis. M. Bayle est fils d'un Ministre. M. l'Évêque de Rieux (Bertier), qui avoit contribué à sa conversion, le fit étudier à Toulouse à ses dépens; mais après ses études, il rentra dans la Secte qu'il avoit quittée. Il passa ensuite à Sedan, où il enseigna la Philosophie avec réputation. [Addition in the 1694 edition:— De là il vint à Rouen, où il fut Précepteur du fils d'un Conseiller de la R. P. R. et passa en Hollande après que le Conseiller eut eu ordre du Roi de se défaire de sa Charge.] Il m'écrit⁶ de là que l'on a imprimé depuis peu en Angleterre les Lettres de Gerard Vossius qui sont remplies de belles et bonnes choses."

On June 25, 1693, while sending to Pinsson de Riollès his thanks for services he had rendered in fostering his friendship with the *savant* Graverol, and while reporting to him the recent literary news, Bayle took occasion to stress that the *Ménagiana* had misrepresented the facts about his conversion:

"A Rotterdam, le 25 de juin, 1693.

"Je manque de termes qui me satisfassent, Monsieur, pour vous témoigner la grande reconnaissance que je sens de la bonté si officieuse et si obligeante avec laquelle vous avez écrit sur mon sujet à l'illustre monsieur Graverol.⁷ C'est à la manière dont vous avez fait valoir mon compliment que je suis redevable de toutes les honnêtetés qu'il vous a écrites pour moi et que vous avez pris la peine d'insérer dans votre lettre. C'est donc à vous, Monsieur, comme à la première cause que je dois faire mes remerciements très humbles. Mais puisque vous avez si bien commencé, ne vous lassez point de me rendre vos bons offices; ayez la bonté de témoigner à cet illustre ami que l'honneur qu'il me fait me comble et de gloire et de reconnaissance,

⁵ *Ménagiana*, edition of 1729, I, pp. 293-294.

⁶ This refers to an unknown letter of Bayle to Ménage, since the two published by R. L. Hawkins in *ROMANIC REVIEW*, XXIII, January-March, 1932, pp. 14-19, do not contain this information about Vossius.

⁷ François Graverol, born at Nîmes in 1635 or 1636, died September 10, 1694, a lawyer and archaeologist. He was one of the founders of the Académie de Nîmes. Imprisoned at the time of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, he signed a retraction of his "Protestant heresies." In 1689 he became a corresponding member of the Academy of the *Ricovrati* of Padua. He wrote numerous works on law, history, numismatics, etc., as for instance: *Arrests notables du parlement de Toulouse*. . . ., 1682; *Dissertation sur l'inscription du tombeau de Pons, fils d'Ildephonse, de la famille des Raimond comtes de Toulouse*, 1683; *Dissertation contre Tollius au sujet d'un monument antique*, 1687; *Dissertation sur une médaille grecque qui porte le nom du dieu Pan*, 1689; *Sorberiana, sive excerpta ex ore Samuelis Sorbieri*, 1691; *Les Gouvernements anciens et modernes de la Gaule Narbonnaise ou de la province de Languedoc*, 1696, etc. On him see Bayle, *Œuvres diverses*, II, pp. 280, 498, 499; Moréri, *Dict. hist.*; Mme du Noyer, *Lettres hist. et gal.* (1790), II, pp. 238-239; Ménard, *Hist. de la Ville de Nîmes*; Haag, *La France Protestante*; *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, etc.

et qu'au premier loisir j'aurai la satisfaction de le lui marquer moi-même. Les pièces de sa composition dont il me veut faire présent me sont infiniment précieuses: je voudrais que ce que je me prépare de lui envoyer fust approchant de ce prix. C'est en vain que je me servirois pour cela de ce que j'ai publié; ainsi je choisirai de meilleures choses, et je lui enverrai, pour bien commencer, un écrit qui lui plaira et qui est fort nouveau, *De Vita et Moribus Epicuri*.⁸ J'y joindrai un exemplaire des *Monnoies* de Mr. Le Blanc⁹ que vous m'avez demandé pour l'auteur; je l'assure avec votre permission de mes respects. L'édition de ce pays-ci de son ouvrage est d'Amsterdam, chez Pierre Mortier, in-4° et est des meilleures qu'on fasse ici à présent. J'ai lu avec un extrême plaisir le *Ménagiana* qu'un Genevois, venu ici de Paris depuis quelques jours, a apporté à Mr. Basnage.¹⁰ J'ai rempli quelques uns des vuides, mais il y en a d'autres que je n'ai pas encore bien déchiffrés; je ne sais pas assez bien la carte de Paris pour cela. Vous êtes, Monsieur, un des contribuans à l'ouvrage, et vous voulez bien qu'à vous seul solidairement je fasse mes remerciemens pour le plaisir que cette lecture m'a donné, et pour les particularités singulières que j'y trouve, dont je me prévaudrai dans mon *Dictionnaire critique*¹¹ que l'on ne commencera d'imprimer que dans un mois. Je me suis trouvé dans le *Ménagiana*, mais la manière dont Mr. Ménage parle de moi est un peu trop vague et propre à faire naître de fausses idées. Chacun s'imaginera que j'ai fait toutes mes études sous les auspices et par la libéralité de Monsieur l'Évêque de Rieux.¹² Voici dans le vrai ce qui en est: Ayant fait mes études de Grec et de Latin et de Rhétorique ou chez mon père qui étoit ministre (comme le *Ménagiana* le dit) ou à l'Académie de Puylaurens, je commençai ma philosophie à la même Académie et poussai cette étude seulement quatre ou cinq mois, après quoi j'allai à Toulouse tout plein de doutes sur ma religion par des lectures de livres de controverse que j'avois faites. Je me trouvais logé avec un prêtre, qui, disputant avec moi, ne fit qu'augmenter mes doutes et après tout me persuada que j'étois dans une mauvaise religion; j'en sortis et je continuai ma philosophie dans le Collège des Jésuites de Toulouse. Monsieur l'Évêque de Rieux, dans le diocèse duquel j'étois né, ayant

⁸ Jacques du Rondel, *De Vita et Moribus Epicuri*, 1693. Cf. Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, article "Epicure," Remarque K.

⁹ François Le Blanc, numismatist, was born in the Dauphiné, and died at Versailles in 1698. He was the possessor of a renowned collection of coins and medals. About 1688 he went to Italy with the Comte de Crussol and travelled there extensively. He was appointed teacher of history to the King's children, but died before he began his new function. The works to which Bayle here refers are: *Traité historique des monnoies de France depuis le commencement de la monarchie jusqu'à présent*, 1690, and *Dissertation sur quelques monnoies de Charlemagne, Louis le Débonnaire, Lothaire et ses successeurs, frappées dans Rome*, 1689. In 1692, an Amsterdam edition of the two works together appeared in 4°. This is the volume sent on by Bayle. Cf. Chaudon et Delandine, *Dict. Hist.; Nouvelle Biographie Générale*; etc.

¹⁰ Jacques Basnage de Beauval, 1653-1723. He was the pastor of the Walloon church at Rotterdam from 1691 on, and became pastor at the Hague in 1709. He was the author of several theological and historic works. Cf. Nicéron, *Mémoires*, IV and X; etc.

¹¹ The *Dictionnaire historique et critique* did not appear until 1697. This passage proves that the printing apparently began as early as 1693.

¹² His name was Bertier. The *Ménagiana*, ed. of 1729, III, p. 271, credits him with "beaucoup d'esprit," and narrates anecdotes about him.

sçu mon changement et l'indignation de ma famille contre moi, et d'ailleurs que j'étois studieux, de bonnes mœurs et de quelque sorte d'espérance, m'honora de sa protection, et me donna de quoi payer ma pension, ne recevant rien de chez moi à cause de l'irritation de mon père. J'achevai ainsi ma philosophie, c'est-à-dire que je demeurai à Toulouse environ dix-huit mois, après quoi les premières impressions de l'éducation ayant regagné le dessus, je me crus obligé de rentrer dans la religion où j'étois né, et m'en allai à Genève, où je continuai mes études. Je ne dis pas cela pour avoir honte des bienfaits de ce grand Prélat; j'en conserve avec respect et avec beaucoup de reconnaissance le souvenir; mais enfin, on se doit à soi-même et à son prochain le soin d'empêcher qu'on ne se fasse des idées fausses, outrées ou hyperboliques des choses.

"J'ai enfin reçu le présent du Père de la Mainferme¹³ et je l'ai tout aussitôt fait porter au relieur. J'attends avec impatience celui de Mr. Chassebras de Cramailles¹⁴ dont j'ai lu divers mémoires très curieux dans le *Mercurie Galant*; je lui suis infiniment obligé de son honnêteté, et vous supplie de l'assurer de mes très humbles services. D'où vient, je vous prie, Monsieur, que dans l'éloge satirique que le *Journal des Savants* a fait de Mr. Ménage,¹⁵ on ne parle que de Bautru, Prieur des Matras, comme de celui dont il savoit les bons mots? Il paroît que Bautru, comte de Serrans,¹⁶ étoit plutôt à nommer que le Prieur. J'ai prié quelques personnes intel-

¹³ Jean de la Mainferme was a Benedictine monk of the Monastery of Fontevault (1646-1693). He wrote the *Dissertationes in epistolam contra Robertum de Arbrissello*, Saumur, 1682, and *Clypeus nascentis ordinis Fontebraldensis*, 1684, 3 vols. In these works he attempts to refute accusations brought against Robert d'Arbrissel, founder of the Abbey of Fontevault. He defends his moral conduct which had been sharply attacked by Geoffroy, Abbé de la Trinité, because he had instructed the priests of his order to follow the directions of an *Abbesse*.

¹⁴ Chassebras de Cramailles was a friend of Ménage (see *Ménagiana*, ed. of 1729, IV, pp. 193-94). He was "Conseiller de la Cour des Monnoies de France," and wrote a history of the Cour des Monnoies.

¹⁵ The *Journal des Savants* had said: "Parlant naturellement beaucoup et aimant à débiter ce qu'il savoit, il ne laissoit qu'à peine la parole aux autres. . . . Sa mémoire, qui étoit prodigieuse, lui fournissoit sur toutes sortes de sujets des vers grecs, latins, italiens et français, qu'il répétoit souvent, sans crainte d'ennuyer ceux qui ne les entendoient pas. Elle lui fournissoit aussi quantité de bons mots qu'il avoit appris dans sa jeunesse, et dont les meilleurs étoient du prieur Bautru des Matras. Ses contes paroissent étudiés, parce qu'il les exprimoit toujours en mêmes termes. . . ."

¹⁶ Guillaume de Bautru, comte de Serrans, chancellor of Gaston d'Orléans, and a member of the French Academy, 1588-1665. He was renowned for his *bons mots*, his sharp wit and critical mind, which brought him many a beating. He amused Richelieu and later Mazarin by his witty sayings. He published *L'Onosandre ou la Croyance du Grossier*, a satire against the Duc de Montbazou. He was an original buffoon of letters. Bautru, Prieur des Matras, was Charles de Bautru, called Le Prieur des Matras, Chanoine de l'Eglise d'Angers, who "mettoit des épingles sur sa manche pour se souvenir de s'enivrer" (*Ménagiana*, ed. of 1729, I, p. 137). See also *idem*, II, pp. 52, 359-360, and III, p. 236. The *Mémoires de Segrais*, 1723, p. 107, tell of him: "Il étoit des bons amis de Scarron, et quand Scarron s'étoit raillé de lui, il prenoit une épingle qu'il attachoit à sa manche, disant que c'étoit pour s'en souvenir, afin de s'en venger." The *Ménagiana* (ed. of 1729, I, p. 269), reports about his wide fame: "Il est surprenant que pendant quarante ou cinquante ans, M. de Bautru ait rempli toute l'Europe de ses railleries et de ses bons mots, pendant qu'il y avoit tant de choses à dire contre lui: *Risum fecit, sed ridiculus fuit*." On both these Bautrus see the *Historiette* of Tallemant des Réaux (ed. of 1861, III, p. 98). Guillaume was a cousin of the Prieur des Matras. Both of them were buffoons, as were also three or four other members of this family.

ligentes de chercher les Alphabets¹⁷ que vous souhaitez. On m'a promis d'en avoir soin. J'attends avec impatience le succès de leurs recherches, ne désirant rien tant que de vous marquer que je suis de tout mon cœur,

"Tout à vous,

"Bayle.

"Je vous supplie de faire mes compliments à Mr. de Larroque.¹⁸ Nous n'avons pour toutes nouveautés qu'une fade et romanesque *Histoire du Père la Chaise*,¹⁹ très satirique; et la *Vie de Sixte V* en trois volumes par Mr. Légi.²⁰ Cette nouvelle édition est fort augmentée. J'ai été surpris de ce que j'ai lu dans le *Ménagiana* touchant les *Essais de Médecine* d'un médecin de Blois.²¹

"À Mr. Pinsson des Riolles,
Avocat au Parlement à Paris."

* * *

However, when the second, enlarged edition of the *Ménagiana* appeared in 1694, Bayle complained to Pinsson de Riolles that the corrections had not been incorporated, — that on the contrary some mistaken biographical data

¹⁷ The "Alphabets" are most likely the work of François Mercurius, baron van Helmont: *Alphabeti vere naturalis hebraici brevissima Delinatio, quæ simul methodum suppheditat juxta quam qui surdi nati sunt sic informari possunt, ut non alios saltem loquentes intelligant, sed et ipsi ad sermonis usum perveniant*, Sulzbach, 1667.

¹⁸ Daniel de Larroque. On him see *Unpublished Letters of Pierre Bayle*: IV. On the Imprisonment of Bayle's Collaborator, Daniel de Larroque (1694), and especially note 14. In *ROMANIC REVIEW*, XXIII, April-June, 1932, pp. 121-124.

¹⁹ *Histoire du Père La Chaise*, — read *Histoire particulière du père La Chaise*, Cologne, 1696, ("un libelle satirique et obscène"). François de la Chaise or La Chaize d'Aix, the Jesuit confessor of Louis XIV, 1624-1709. He became the King's confessor in 1673. To him is attributed the responsibility for the secret marriage of the King and Mme de Maintenon. He exerted great influence upon Louis XIV. Although he has been highly praised for his tolerance, his love of justice, etc., the Protestants believed that he was the principal instigator of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and of the persecutions against them. In any case, he did nothing to prevent them.

²⁰ Gregorio Légi, Italian historian, pamphleteer and author of libels, was born at Milan in 1630, and died in Amsterdam in 1701. He became a Protestant and his change of religion made a great stir in Italy. In 1661 he established himself in Geneva; later he went to England and became historiographer to Charles II, but because of his turbulent and intriguing character, he had to leave that country for Holland, where he died. The work here referred to is the *Vita de Sixto V, pontifice romano*, Lausanne, 1669; it was republished with additions in Amsterdam, 1686, in 2 vols., and was translated into French as *La Vie du Pape Sixte V*, Paris, 1693, 2 vols.

²¹ See the *Ménagiana*, ed. of 1729, II, pp. 60-61. In this anecdote, Ménage reproaches a doctor, Bernier, for having "écrit pendant deux ans mille choses que je lui ai dites pour les insérer dans ses *Essais de Médecine*; qu'il a très-mal employées." Jean Bernier, 1622-1698, came to Paris from Blois in 1674. His *Essais de Médecine, où il est traité de l'histoire de la médecine et des médecins*. . . , appeared in 1689. He replied to the *Ménagiana* with a satire: *Anti-Ménagiana, où l'on cherche ces bons mots, cette morale, ces pensées judicieuses et tout ce que l'affiche du Ménagiana nous a promis*, 1693.

had been added. He was manifestly at a loss to account for this, and ascribed it to intentional maliciousness on the part of "des esprits vindicatifs" who wanted to take revenge on him for an article about an anonymous doctor who had attacked Doctor Menjot,²² which he had published in the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*:

"27 mai, 1694.²³

"À Monsieur Pinsson des Riolles:

"Je fis tenir la lettre pour Mr. Allix²⁴ le jour même que je la reçus, Monsieur, et fis savoir que si on vouloit répondre on n'avoit qu'à se servir de l'adresse que j'indiquois. Il y avoit dans cette lettre bien des mystères pour moi, et comme je n'entens rien aux langues orientales vous pourrez juger que j'admirai beaucoup les éclaircissemens que Mr. Picquet²⁵ donne à l'ami de Mr. Allix. Je suis sûr que je les admirerois davantage si je les entendois. Je voudrais être capable de témoigner bien fortement à ce savant homme mon respect et mes très humbles services. J'ai de la confusion, Monsieur, de ne vous avoir pas remercié plutôt des deux lettres que j'ai reçues de vous en dernier lieu, toujours bien remplies de nouveautés littéraires; et j'ai toujours le chagrin d'avoir besoin de vous faire des excuses de la sécheresse et de la stérilité de notre pays à cet égard. Vous savez sans

²² Antoine Menjot, born about 1615 and died in 1696. He was a doctor of medicine, and belonged to a Protestant family. He received his doctor's degree at Montpellier in 1636, and then came to Paris where he became the "médecin du roi" and "conseiller." After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, he was exiled to Limoges, but became "converted" and returned to Paris. Among his works one may cite: *Historia et curatio Februm malignarum*, 1662, 1665, 1674, 1677; *Opusculum posthumum, contenant des discours et des lettres sur divers sujets*, 1696; etc. On him see Haag, *La France Protestante*; *Biogr. Méd.*; *Nouv. Biogr. Gén.*; etc.

²³ Published from the Columbia University Manuscript of Letters by Bayle.

²⁴ Pierre Allix, born in 1641 and died in London on March 3, 1717. He was at first Protestant minister at Rouen, then at Charenton, where, in collaboration with the well-known scholar, Claude [Jean Claude, the most renowned of Protestant controversialists, 1619-1687, who wrote against Arnauld, Nicole, Bossuet, etc.], he worked on a new translation of the Bible, because of which he was accused of Socinianism. After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 1685, he took refuge in England. Among his many works, one may cite: *De Tertulliani Vita et Scriptis*, 1680; *Douze Sermons sur divers textes*, 1685; *Réflexions sur les cinq livres de Moïse, pour établir la vérité de la Religion chrétienne*, 1687; *The Judgment of the Ancient Jewish Church against the Unitarians in the Controversy upon the Holy Trinity and the Divinity of Our Blessed Saviour*, 1689; *Some Remarks upon the Ecclesiastical History of the Ancient Churches of Piedmont*, 1690; *De Messie duplici adventu, Dissertationes duae adversus Judaeos*, 1701 (in which he predicts that Jesus Christ will return to earth in 1720 or at the latest in 1736); and many others. On him see: Nicéron, *Mémoires*; Bayle, *Lettres*; etc. This letter proves that French letters for him were sent to Holland, and from there to England.

²⁵ François Picquet, born at Lyons on April 12, 1626, and died at Hamadan, Persia, on August 26, 1685. He was a French prelate, son of a banker, and became in 1652 French consul at Alep, and soon after Dutch consul at the same time. In 1660 he became an ecclesiastic and soon was promoted as a church dignitary. In 1675 he was appointed Bishop of *partibus* of Cesaropolis, in Macedonia; in 1681 he became ambassador of the courts of France and Rome in Persia; in 1683 he was made Bishop of Babylonia. On him see *Vie de Picquet* (attributed to Anthelmy, Bishop of Grasse), Paris, 1732.

doute que Mr. Graverol a un frère²⁶ qui est ministre en Angleterre. Il est docte et il a publié depuis quelque tems un livre intitulé *Moses Vindicatus* pour répondre à quelques objections du docteur Thomas Burnet,²⁷ qui dans ses *Archaeologiae philosophicae* a proposé divers doutes contre le sens littéral de l'histoire de la chute du premier homme. Il prétend que Moïse a caché le fait sous des emblèmes et des apologues à la manière des Orientaux. Mr. Graverol croit que c'est faire injure à Moïse, et il fait son Apologie. Il a fait insérer une lettre là-dessus dans le nouveau journal de Rotterdam²⁸ où il remarque que le livre de ce docteur a scandalisé les bonnes âmes, et lui fait du tort. On a imprimé à Amsterdam les *Galanteries des Rois de France depuis Pharamond jusqu'au tems présent*.²⁹ Je crois sans peine que ce livre a été écrit en France, mais qu'on y a joint quelque chose sur la fin, à Amsterdam. Ces additions mêmes sont assez conformes au reste du livre en ce qu'elles ne sont pas d'un style effronté. Il regne dans l'ouvrage en général d'assez grands restes de retenue, mais je ne sais si les faits sont bien certains; j'y ai remarqué des anachronismes grossiers sur le dernier tems, comme quand l'auteur affirme que la même madame qui avoit été si fâchée que le Roi fut venu chercher parmi les filles d'honneur Madle la Valière fut inconsolable de voir qu'il en étoit venu chercher une seconde

²⁶ Jean Graverol, 1636 or 1647-1718 or 1730, brother of François Graverol (see note 7 above). After having studied theology at Geneva, he became Protestant minister at Pradel (Vivaraire) in 1671. In 1672 he became minister at Lyons. After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes he went to Holland, but soon transferred to London, where he was entrusted with the direction of a French refugee church. He contributed to Bayle's *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*. In 1674 he published *De Religionum Conciliatoribus* under the pseudonym of J. Rolegravius (anagram of J. Graverolius), a volume directed against the proposal of d'Huissieu for a union of the different Protestant sects. Besides this, he wrote extensively in the field of theological polemics. In 1694 he published in Amsterdam the volume to which Bayle refers: *Moses vindicatus, seu asserta historica creationis Mundi aliarumque rerum quales a Moysae narrantur, veritas*, adv. Tb. Burnetii archaeologiae philosophicae. Among his other works, we may cite: *Des points fondamentaux de la Religion chrétienne*, Amsterdam, 1697; *Réflexions désintéressées sur certains prétendus inspirés qui depuis quelque temps se mêlent de prophétiser dans Londres*, 1707; etc. Cf. Bayle, *Œuvres diverses*, IV, pp. 608 and 610; Haag, *La France Protestante*; etc.

²⁷ Thomas Burnet, 1635-1715. This English divine published in 1681 his *Telluris Theoria Sacra* or *Sacred Theory of the Earth*. Through his reputation he obtained an introduction at court and became clerk of the closet to King William. In 1692 he published the volume here referred to: *Archaeologiae Philosophicae: sive Doctrina antiqua de Rerum Originibus*. He exposed the Biblical account of the fall of man as an allegory. This work aroused such opposition and clamor that he was removed from his position at court.

²⁸ Evidently the *Nouveau Journal des Savants dressé à Rotterdam par le Sieur C . . .* (1694). *Le Sieur C . . .* was the French refugee Etienne Chauvin, a friend of Bayle, whom he replaced as professor of philosophy during his illness. This publication was begun at Amsterdam in 1694, but continued for one year only. Chauvin continued it at Berlin, where he had been called, from 1696 to 1698. Cf. E. Hatin, *Histoire . . . de la Presse en France*, 1859, II, pp. 257-258.

²⁹ The *Galanteries des Rois de France* is a work by Vanel. It was published at Bruxelles, 1694, and at Cologne (P. Marteau), 1695-1698, in 2 vols. A new edition of it together with Sauval's *Amours des rois de France* appeared in 1731, and again in 1738. It was reprinted later with different titles such as *Galanteries de la Cour de France*, 1733, in 3 vols., or *Intrigues galantes de la Cour de France*, 1740.

au même lieu, savoir Madle de Fontange.³⁰ Mr. Vandale,³¹ médecin anabaptiste de Haerlem, si connu par son *Traité des Oracles* va publier un livre qui sera curieux et docte, *De origine et progressu superstitionum et cultum idolatricorum*. Nous avons ici la seconde édition du *Ménagiana*. Bien loin d'avoir rectifié ce qui me concerne ils y ont joint de nouvelles faussetés. Je n'ai jamais été précepteur chez un conseiller de Rouen, et ce fut en partant de Sedan, après la suppression de l'Académie, que je vins en ce pays. J'ai lieu de croire qu'on ne m'a mis dans ce *Ménagiana* que par un dessein tout pur de malignité, et je soupçonne bien le motif. Dans mes *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* je parlai d'un différent que Mr. Menjot avait eu avec un Médecin de Paris qui avoit déguisé son nom; j'en parlai, dis-je, d'une manière qui ne plut pas à un ami de ce médecin.³² Mais en vérité c'est le venger de bien loin, et pour peu de chose et si je voulois imiter ces esprits vindicatifs, j'en trouverois bien les occasions. Il n'est plus tems, Monsieur, de vous consulter sur Amyot, la presse a roulé sur son article il y a long tems.³³ J'ai débité sur la foi de Rouillard dans

³⁰ Françoise-Louise de La Baume Le Blanc, Duchesse de La Vallière, 1644-1710. She became lady-in-waiting to Henriette d'Angleterre, wife of the brother of Louis XIV. The King fell in love with her in 1661. She was succeeded by Mme de Montespan about 1668. She then entered the Carmelite cloister in 1674, and became celebrated for her life of penitence as Sister Louise de la Miséricorde. During the King's liaison with Mme de Montespan, he "faisait à la marquise de nombreuses infidélités. On cite Mme de Soubise, Mme du Ludre, Mlle de Fontanges, etc. Cette dernière fut produite en 1679 par la marquise elle-même" (*Novv. Biogr. Gén.*).

³¹ Antoine Van Dale or Van Dalen, 1638-1708. Having given up his career in commerce, he became preacher of the pacifist Anabaptists. Later he abandoned theology, and became doctor of medicine and director of the *hospice* of Haerlem. He was an "ennemi juré de toute superstition, il s'en moquait ouvertement, aussi bien que de l'hypocrisie." Among his well-known works we may cite: *De Oraculis veterum ethnicorum*, 1683, on which Fontenelle's *Histoire des Oracles* (1707) is based. He here wished to demonstrate that oracles were only a *fourberie des prêtres* to maintain their domination over their flocks and to exploit the ignorance and superstition of the mass. The first volume was translated into English by Mrs. Aphra Behn under the title of *The History of Oracles and the Cheats of Pagan Priests*, 1699. Bayle refers to others of his works: *Dissertationes de origine et progressu idolatria et superstitionum; de vera et falsa prophetia, uti et de divinationibus idolatricis Judaeorum*, Amsterdam, 1696, in which he showed that the belief in demons was as old and as widespread as the human race itself. This was followed by the *Lettres sur le Pentateuque Samaritain* and the *Réponses d'Etienne Morin*. On him see Nicéron, *Memoires*, XXXVI; etc.

³² The note to which Bayle refers here appeared in the February, 1687, issue of the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*: "Nous attendons un Livre de Médecine qui vient d'être publié à Paris, . . . *Dissertationes Pathologicae de passione uterina et de dolore, quarta ac ultima parti dissertationum Pathologicarum adjicienda. Antonio Menjotio scriptore*. . . . Mr. Menjot est un Auteur fort illustre. Il publia d'abord in 8. l'Histoire et la guérison des fièvres malignes, qui regnoient en ce tems-là à Paris, et y ajouta quelques dissertations pathologiques. . . . Il écrivit à son ami Mr. Rombius une Lettre de *varii sectis amplexandis*, qu'on imprima à Paris à son insçu, et qui fut attaquée assez aigrement par un Médecin déguisé sous le nom d'*Hadrianus Scaurus*, et défendue vigoureusement tout aussi-tôt par son Auteur, sans que depuis ce tems-là on lui ait fait aucune réplique" (Cf. *Œuvres diverses* of Bayle, La Haye, 1737, I, p. 756).

³³ The *Dictionnaire historique et critique* had been printed some time before May 27, 1694, beyond the article "Amyot," i. e., about two hundred pages of volume I.

son *Histoire de Melun*³⁴ qui dit avoir suivi un manuscrit commencé par Amyot touchant sa vie, et achevé par son secrétaire, j'ai débité, dis-je, qu'il avoit professé publiquement à Bourges, et j'ai réfuté en beaucoup de choses l'historiette que l'Abbé de Saint Réal³⁵ a publiée des aventures d'Amyot. Depuis l'impression, j'ai trouvé que Mr. Varillas³⁶ assure qu'Amyot fit plusieurs années profession du Luthéranisme. Je vous eusse consulté sur tout cela, Monsieur, si j'en avois eu le tems. Ce sera pour une seconde édition. Je suis avec toute sorte d'attachement et d'estime votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

Bayle."

VII. A LETTER TO HIS BROTHER, JACOB (1670)

The letters of Bayle to his family of the year 1670 are particularly important, since they relate to the first great crisis in his life: his conversion to Catholicism and his return, largely through the insistency of his family, to the ancestral Protestant faith. Unhappily, only three of them are known. The first of them is addressed to his elder brother, Jacob, from Toulouse, where on March 19, 1669, Pierre had renounced Protestantism.¹ The object of this strange and exalted missive was to incite his brother, Jacob, a Protestant minister at Carla, to join him at Toulouse and to forego his heretical

³⁴ Sébastien Roulliard, died in Paris in 1639. He was a lawyer, historian and writer. He was the author of numerous books, some of which are much sought after because of their rarity and the strangeness of their titles as well as of their contents, as for example: *Gymnopodes ou De la nudité des pieds, disputée de part et d'autre*, Paris, 1624; or *Lumbifrage de Nicodème Aubin, scribe, soi-disant le cinquième évangéliste et noble de quatre races, Eleuterus, année embolismale*, the rarest of all his works. The volume to which Bayle here refers is: *Histoire de Melun, plus la vie de Bouchard, comte de Melun, celle de Jacques Amyot et le catalogue des seigneurs de la maison de Melun*, Paris, 1628.

³⁵ César Vichard de Saint-Réal, 1639-1692, an Abbé and historian. Having met Varillas, then at the height of his renown, he contracted the habit of embellishing history, and became a brilliant, but romanesque, historian, very imaginative and credulous about anecdotes. Varillas accused him of having appropriated certain important documents, but Saint-Réal did not reply because of gratitude to his former master. In his *Usage de l'Histoire* (1671), he gives a kind of philosophy of anecdotal history, which should be a school of moral examples, attractively told. He wrote several historical novels, such as *Don Carlos*, 1673, and *La Conjuration des Espagnols contre la République de Venise*, 1674. They were extremely successful and exerted an influence upon later literature. In his *De l'Usage de l'Histoire*, p. 76, Saint-Réal states that Amyot was for some time a beggar in Paris, and after that a lackey.

³⁶ Antoine Varillas, 1624-1696. In 1648 he was historiographer to Gaston d'Orléans, and in 1655 librarian of the King's library. In 1662 he retired with a pension of 1200 livres. His pension was suppressed by Colbert in 1670, but he received another from the *Clergé de France* to encourage him in writing his *Histoire des Révolutions arrivées dans l'Europe en matière de religion, depuis 1374 jusqu'en 1569*, which appeared in Paris, 1686-1689, in 6 vols. He was violently criticized by the Protestants, who exposed his many errors and falsehoods in this and his numerous other books. The statements of Varillas about Amyot, as Bayle himself says in his *Dictionnaire*, are "pleins de faussetés," and he refers to the *Histoire de l'Hérésie*, Book X, p. 310, and to his *Histoire de Henri II*, Book II, pp. 203-204. Bayle, in the later editions of the *Dictionnaire*, states that he does not believe Varillas' assertion that Amyot had been a Protestant. Cf. *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, ed. of 1741, article "Amyot."

¹ This letter has been quoted *in extenso* in Des Maizeaux, *Vie de Mr. Bayle*, in the *Dictionnaire*, pp. XVIII-XX. It also appears in the *Œuvres diverses*, 1737, I, pp. 5-6 and in *Nouvelles Lettres*, 1739, I, pp. 1-8.

convictions, to be rebaptized in the Catholic fold. His pious exhortations, however, remained unheeded. His family, though deeply grieved about his change of faith, was prudent enough to grant its erring son a few months of reflection. They dispatched to Toulouse his cousin, Naudis de Bruguières, who discussed dogma and religion with the newly converted Catholic, and must have smoothed a way for a reconciliation with his family. On June 11, 1670, Bayle wrote a most respectful and submissive letter to his father,² in which he excused himself for his long silence. This letter was the forerunner of his reconversion to Protestantism, which took place on August 21, 1670:

"Il sortit secrettement de Toulouse [le 19 d'Août], où il avoit demeuré dix-huit mois, et se retira auprès de Mazères dans le Lauragais, à une Maison de campagne de Mr. du Vivié, à six lieuës de Toulouse et à trois lieuës du Carla. Son Frère aîné s'y rendit le lendemain avec quelques Ministres du voisinage; et le jour suivant [le 21 d'Août] il fit son abjuration entre les mains de Mr. Rival Ministre de Saverdun, et en presence de son Frère aîné, de Mr. Guillemat Ministre de Mazères, et de Mr. Rival Ministre de Calmont et Neveu du Ministre de Saverdun. Le même jour on le fit partir pour Genève."³

There were at least two potent reasons for his departure to Geneva. Bayle's reconversion had made him a "relaps" — a renegade — against whom severe penalties had been decreed.⁴ On the other hand the Academy of Geneva was a nursery of Protestant ministers, where the most renowned defenders of the Calvinistic faith were professors. Bayle arrived there on September 2, and we know from his letter to his brother, Jacob, of November 2, 1670, that two days after his arrival, he wrote to Mr. Rivals, minister of Calmont, and about October 2, to his elder brother. Both of these letters seem lost. The first now preserved written after his arrival at Geneva, is dated November 2, 1670. Thus far only a part of it has been published,⁵ and in this truncated form it gives a very incomplete view of Bayle's state of mind at that crucial moment. The eighteenth century editors have printed only part of a long postscript of the actual letter, and in that Bayle spoke only of his penury and discussed some points of the teaching of the Geneva professors. They have neglected the most important part, the exalted religious confession to his brother, which shows that Bayle had become again as fervent a Protestant as he had been a Catholic. Besides, the extracts that have appeared in print offer not only textual differences from the manu-

² E. Gigas, *Choix de la Correspondance inédite de Pierre Bayle, 1670-1706*, Copenhagen, 1890, pp. 3-6.

³ Des Maizeaux, *Vie de Mr. Bayle*, pp. XX-XXI.

⁴ In April, 1663, there was issued a Declaration of the King, forbidding all Protestants who had abjured their religion to return to it; on June 20, 1665, another Declaration decreed perpetual banishment against renegades. That this punishment was actually applied in Toulouse can be proven by the fact that on August 13, 1674, a renegade, Susanne Reversade, was banished by a decree of Parliament. Cf. De la Monnoye, *Histoire de Mr. Bayle* . . . , Amsterdam, 1716, pp. 75-76.

⁵ Published in part in the *Œuvres diverses*, I, pp. 7-8, and in the *Nouvelles Lettres*, I, pp. 9-15.

script,⁶ but also serious omissions. Furthermore, this letter has not been elucidated, — as have none of the 150 letters to his family, — by notes and references without which Bayle's complex and detailed correspondence remains practically unintelligible.

This elucidation will show, for instance, that Bayle's early vacillation between Catholicism and Protestantism was not, at that time at least, "une leçon pratique de scepticisme." Quite on the contrary, in this letter he sides violently with the dogmatic and intolerant Protestants of Geneva, and denounces not only the tolerant opinions of Grotius, but those of the professors of Saumur, who wrote in favor of the unification of the various Protestant sects, and even of all Christian believers. Rather than by a gradual evolution toward scepticism, Bayle's early years seem characterized by his swinging from intolerant Catholicism to intolerant Protestantism. It is only later that his omnivorous erudition will lead him to the intermediate ground of toleration between those two opposite poles. In any case, it seems exaggerated to state: "Bayle en quittant Toulouse n'est plus un homme de foi."⁷ This letter shows him following the example of his new teachers, refuting the arguments of the Socinians,⁸ immersing himself deeply in Biblical studies, though reading at the same time, to satisfy his insatiable curiosity, the miscellaneous books that had recently come to his attention. As to his complaints about his poverty and his difficulties of a practical nature, they were happily solved soon after the writing of this letter, since on November 21, he became tutor to the children of Mr. de Normandie, Syndic de la République de Geneva.

"Monsieur mon très bon et très honoré frère:⁹

"Enfin le temps est arrivé où nous n'aurons plus besoin de nous écrire par des termes obscurs et énigmatiques et de laisser au bout de la plume la moitié des choses que nous voulions nous apprendre. Nous ne sommes plus dans le temps du mystère, nous sommes dans le temps de la manifestation, si bien que ne goûtant pas le bien que nous attendions en espérance seulement, mais en ayant la pleine et entière jouissance, il ne reste plus que de se réjouir au Seigneur qui a fait cette grand' oeuvre, et de Luy en rendre grâces immortelles. Pour moy j'ay regardé ma sortie hors de cette ville superstitieuse où j'ay fait quelque séjour,¹⁰ avec la même joye qu'ont ceux qui habitent sous les poles, de revoir le soleil après une absence de six mois,

⁶ The original is now preserved in the Columbia University Library in the *Manuscript Collection of Letters of Pierre Bayle*. A copy is found in MS. F. F. 12771 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, pp. 1-3.

⁷ Jean Delvolvé, *Religion, Critique et Philosophie positive chez Pierre Bayle*, Paris, 1906, p. 11.

⁸ Derived from the name of Lelio Sozzini, or Socin (1525-1562), famous Italian heretic of the sixteenth century. The Socinians rejected the dogma of the Trinity and that of the divinity of Christ. They did not believe in the Original Sin, and considered baptism and communion as merely exterior ceremonies, etc. There existed, however, great divergence within the Socinian doctrine.

⁹ Inscription on the back of folded sheet: "A Monsieur, Monsieur Bayle fils, F. M. D. S. E. (Frère Ministre du Saint Evangile), au Carla."

¹⁰ Toulouse.

et j'ay remercié Dieu de ce grand bienfait comme d'une délivrance et d'une rédemption très ardemment attenduë. Je ne doute pas que vous n'en ayez fait encore plus, vous dont les prières ont comme haté le temps où Dieu vouloit déployer sa vertu et qui par vos soupirs et par vos gémissemens avez comme forcé le Tout Puissant à me ressusciter, et le Souverain Pasteur des âmes à me rameiner au petit troupeau. Continuons à louer Dieu chacun de notre coté pour tous ses bienfaits, et prenons sa coupe de délivrance invoquant son saint nom avec tous ses bien-aymés et sés fidelles serviteurs. Je vous supplie de me secourir toujours de vos saintes prières, vous asseurant que la confiance que je prends au soin que vous avez de prier pour moy est une de mes plus sensibles consolations, et que comme je ne suis pas de la force du patriarche Abraham, pour espérer contre espérance, je me vois plusieurs fois abbatu de crainte et absorbé par la sollicitude de l'avenir si je ne me souvenois que j'ay en votre personne, pour ainsi dire, un intercesseur qui me rendra par la ferveur de ses prières le Ciel propice et m'impêtrera ce qui me sera nécessaire pour passer tranquillement le cours de cette caduque et périssable mortalité jusques à ce que notre grand Maître nous fasse passer dans le séjour de l'immortelle béatitude. Je suis avec tout l'attachement du monde

"Monsieur mon très bon et très honnoré frère

"Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

"Bayle.

"A Genève le dimanche 2 novembre 1670.

"Tournez s'il vous plait.

"J'ay écrit deux fois depuis que je suis en cette ville, savoir la première fois un billet à Mr. Rivalz de Calmont¹¹ deux jours après mon arrivée,¹² et la seconde un billet qui s'adressoit à vous en datte, si je ne me trompe du deux d'octobre ou environ.¹³ Là, je vous apprenois ce qu'il vous importoit le plus d'apprendre: que j'avois fait heureusement mon voyage et étois arrivé ici le mardy deux septembre; que j'avois rendu mes lettres aux professeurs et er. avois été favorablement accueilli; que je m'étois logé en pension de 18 ll. [livres] par mois avec Mr. Oulez de Castres et autres pro-

¹¹ Pierre Rivalz (or Rivals, Rival), Protestant minister at Calmont, later in London, who was present at Bayle's reconversion to Protestantism. (Des Maizeaux, *Vie de Mr. Bayle*, pp. XX-XXI). See a letter of Bayle to him of January 30, 1675, in the *Œuvres diverses*. Pierre Rival published a *Lettre sur la Réformation du Pseautier*, 1703, defending the use of the French versions of Conrart and La Bastide, instead of those of Marot and de Bèze, — a question which divided the French Protestants in London. He possibly belonged to the same family as Jean-Pierre Rivalz (1625-1706), his son, Antoine Rivalz (1667-1735), and another son, Pierre Rivalz (1720-1785), a Toulouse dynasty of painters. A letter of his nephew, Elie Rivals to Bayle, of August 29, 1686, is quoted by E. Gigas (*op. cit.*, p. XV). Elie Rivalz, minister of Puylaurens, was confined in the Hauts Murats prison at Toulouse, in 1685, together with other outstanding Protestants. Jacob Bayle visited him there on May 11, 1685 (Cf. the letter of Jacob to Pierre Bayle in Gigas, *op. cit.*, p. 170. Later he became minister at Amsterdam, where he died in 1692. Cf. *Biographie toulousaine*.

¹² September 4, 1670. This letter to Mr. Rivalz de Calmont seems lost.

¹³ This letter to Jacob Bayle seems lost.

posans que j'avois autrefois connu à l'Académie de Puylaurens;¹⁴ que, tant à cause que les chevaux sont icy à bon marché qu'à cause que le mien n'étoit ni assez joly pour la selle, ni assez fort pour le charriot, j'avois eu toutes les peines du monde à m'en défaire; et qu'enfin, de peur qu'il ne me demeurât pour les gages tout l'hyver, je l'avois vendu deux écus. Cela ne vous surprendroit pas, comme il fera, si vous aviez été à Genève, où vous verriez des chevaux que des proposans ont amenés n'être achetés que dix et douze francs, même avec une selle fort jolie; au contraire, où vous apprendriez que des gens qui se retirent chez eux peuvent acheter des chevaux à un prix si bas qu'ils les vendent presque le double dans leur pays; si bien qu'il ne fait pas bon venir icy avec un cheval à vendre, ou bien s'en aller d'icy et avoir un cheval à acheter. Je vous disois de plus l'extrême besoin que j'aurois bientôt d'argent, et le peu d'apparence qu'il y a que je trouve de longtemps une condition.¹⁵ La ville de Genève est tout autre qu'on ne s' imagine; il y a très peu de gens du lieu qui fassent étudier leurs enfans, et l'Académie seroit fort déserte sans les étrangers. Ainsi il y a très peu de conditions à trouver et pour une qui se présente il y a dix proposans qui briguent pour l'avoir et qui, pour l'emporter sur leurs concurrens, ne manquent jamais de les décréditer auprès des pères de famille chez qui il s'agit d'aller être précepteur. Or il est très facile de disposer si mal les esprits de ces gens-là qu'ils ne veuillent jamais entendre parler de moy; car il suffit de leur dire que j'ay été papiste quelque temps, et presque tous les écoliers le peuvent dire; car, je ne say comment cela s'est fait, ils le savent presque tous. De cette façon il faudra beaucoup de temps pour m'établir et bien faire des visites à Mrs les professeurs. Cependant il faudra que je me nourrisse à beaux deniers comptans; et de la manière que les vivres sont chers icy j'auray au premier jour dépensé jusques à la dernière maille, parce que les hardes et le linge qu'il m'a fallu acheter, joint à la dépense faite en chemin et le prix du cheval, ont englouti les deux tiers de mon argent; si bien que si vous n'avez pas quelque soin de moy, à peine pourray-je avec tout ce qui me reste m'entretenir jusqu'au commencement de janvier prochain; et cela sans m'être habillé ni avoir du linge qui soit tant soit peu honnête. Je vous disois encore d'autres choses de même nature que je répète icy à cause que peut-être ces deux lettres se seront perduës et que vous ne pouviez pas par ce moyen savoir au vray l'état où je me trouve réduit maintenant. Je vous rendray compte en cette lettre de la façon avec

¹⁴ The Protestant Academy of Puylaurens where Bayle was sent to study in February, 1666. See his letter to his father of February 28, 1666, in the *Amateur des Autographes* (1890, p. 2 ff). The Mr. Oulez de Castres here referred to is Jean D'Oulès or Doulez, minister of Saverdun before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685), later refugee minister in Utrecht, then in the Hague. He was pensioned by the Dutch authorities from 1699 to 1704. Two letters of Jean D'Oulès to Bayle have been published by Gigas, *op. cit.*, pp. 227-235. These letters and also a letter of Bayle to de Bayze of September 1, 1703 (Des Maizeaux, III, pp. 1042-1044), prove that Bayle and D'Oulès kept up personal meetings during their exile in Holland. Among the other fellow students of Bayle, there were Sastre, who later became minister in London, and Balaguer, minister of Aigueforde in Haut Languedoc, later of one of the French churches in London, and then of a French church in Dublin, Ireland, until his death in 1725.

¹⁵ This prophecy was too pessimistic. Bayle found a position only nineteen days later, on November 21, 1670, as tutor to the children of Mr. de Normandie, *Syndic* of the Republic of Geneva.

laquelle j'ay employé mon temps depuis que je suis icy, et je feray désormais la même chose dans toutes les lettres que je vous écriray, vous priant d'en faire autant quand vous prendrez la peine de m'écrire.

"Vous saurez donc que j'ay assisté une fois à des thèses que soutint publiquement et en présence du fils aîné du Prince Palatin¹⁶ — qui est icy depuis deux mois et y a même été malade de la petite vérole, — un proposant d'Alençon. Il en étoit l'auteur, mais Mr. Mestrézat¹⁷ présida à la dispute qui étoit *De Justificatione hominis coram Deo*.¹⁸ J'ay aussi assisté aux leçons qui ont continué jusques au commencement d'Octobre, depuis lequel temps nous avons eu des vacances qui n'ont pas fini encore. Mr. Mestrézat expliquoit le commencement de l'Evangile selon Saint Jean et en tiroit les preuves de la divinité du fils de Dieu contre les chicaneries et les subtiles exceptions avec quoi les Sociniens¹⁹ éludent de si forts passages. Mr. Tronchin²⁰ faisoit des leçons sur ces paroles d'Esaië: *On appellera son nom l'admirable*, etc.²¹ et en tiroit pareillement les preuves de la divinité du Messie, réfutant les chicaneries des mêmes Sociniens, qui ont crié au triomphe sur ce passage, fondés sur ce que dans l'hébreu le verbe qui signifie appeler est au futur actif, si bien qu'ils prétendent qu'il faut lire *il appellera*, et que les epithètes de *Dieu fort*, d' *admirable*, de *conseiller*, etc. sont des attributs que le Prophète donne à Dieu, qu'ils veulent qui soit le nominatif du verbe; et *Prince de Paix*, qu'ils interprètent du Roy Ezechias, l'accusatif; leur sens revenant là que le "Dieu fort," "l'admirable," etc. appellera le Roy Ezechias *Prince de Paix*; avec quoi ils prétendent éluder la force de ce passage et convaincre les Orthodoxes d'une manifeste supercherie et de peu de foy à traduire les passages qui leur peuvent rendre

¹⁶ Prince Charles, son of the Elector, Charles-Louis, to whom the Palatinate was restored in 1648 at the peace of Westphalia. Charles was Elector of the Palatinate from August, 1680, to 1685.

¹⁷ Philippe Mestrézat (†1690), professor of philosophy in Geneva, 1641; professor of theology, 1649. Among his works one may cite: *De Unione Personarum in Christo*, 1663; *De Communicatione idiomatum toti Christo facta*, 1675; *De Tolerantia fratrum dissidentium in præter-fundamentalibus*, 1663, etc.

¹⁸ "The Justification of Man in the Presence of his Maker." In 1628 Jean Diodati had published *De Justificatione nostra coram Deo*.

¹⁹ The Protestant theologians carried on unceasing polemics against the sceptical Socinian doctrines which seemed largely to deny miracles and to invalidate the divine nature of the Saviour. The collected works of Fausto P. Sozzini had been published two years previously, in 1668, at Amsterdam, as the first two volumes of the *Bibliotheca fratrum Polonorum*, under the editorship of his grandson, Andrew Wiazowaty, and F. Kuyper.

²⁰ Louis Tronchin (1629-1705), second son of the theologian, Théodore Tronchin (1582-1657). Louis Tronchin studied theology at Geneva and Saumur. From 1661 on he was a renowned professor of theology at Geneva, known for his defense of toleration, with which he had become imbued during his stay at the Academy of Saumur. He became involved in a theological quarrel of twenty years' standing with Fr. Turretin, over the question of absolute predestination. Tronchin kept up an extensive correspondence with a great number of savants, and is the author of *Theses theologice*, 1663; *De Providentia Dei*, 1670, etc.

²¹ *Isaiah*, chapter 9, strophe 6: "For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given: and the government shall be upon his shoulder: and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, The mighty God, The everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace." This passage was considered a proof of the divinity of Christ, but the Socinians proposed the translation: "... And the Wonderful Counsellor, the mighty God, the everlasting Father shall call him [King Ezechias] the Prince of Peace."

quelque bon office. Mr. Turretin²² expliquoit les types de l'ancienne loy et les appliquoit à Christ, en quoy faisant il expliqua à fonds les *Urim* et *Thummim*²³ qui étoient sur le Rational du Souverain Sacrificateur; et ce passage de Saint Matthieu, Chap. 2: "*Il sera appelé Nazarien*,"²⁴ qui donne tant de peine aux interprètes à cause qu'aucun prophète qui soit présentement dans le canon des Ecritures ne se trouve avoir dit cela, et que cependant l'Evangéliste dit ce qui avoit été prédit par les prophètes.

"Tous ces trois professeurs sont grandement savans; mais le mal est qu'on ne dicte rien et qu'on ne s'attache qu'à des questions séparées, sans suivre de fil un cours de théologie. Au reste, les exercices ne sont guères réglés et les proposans sont fort peu assidus. Pour l'hébreu il s'apprend fort mal dans l'Académie, ce qui fait que tous ceux qui y étudient vont chez un proposant qui l'apprend admirablement bien à un écu par mois. Pour mes lectures particulières vous saurez que j'ay lu deux sermons prononcés à Charenton par Mr. Bosc²⁵ sur ces paroles de l'Apocalypse: *A la mienne volonté que tu fusses froid ou bouillant*, etc."²⁶ Outre cela j'ay lu *L'idée des Sciences* en trois petits tomes, par le père Léon, Carme déchaussé.²⁷ Ce n'est pas un livre universellement bon quoyqu'il y ait de bonnes choses. J'ay lu aussi *Les Erreurs populaires* et le *Scibbolet* de Jan d'Espagne et un

²² François Turretini (1623-1687), father of J. A. Turretini, professor of theology in Geneva. The family was of Italian origin. Cf. for instance, *Lettres inédites adressées à J. A. Turretini*, published by M. de Budé, Paris and Geneva, 1887. On François Turretini, see Bayle's *Dictionnaire* and E. Gigas, *op. cit.*, pp. 621-624.

²³ "Les types" are the passages in the *Old Testament* that foreshadow prophetically the events narrated in the *New*. *Urim* and *Thummim*, descriptive terms applied to the methods of divination by the ancient Hebrews. As an adjunct of the "dream" and the prophetic oracle, it was reputed one of the channels of divine communication. It was primitively a kind of casting of the sacred lot to determine guilt or innocence, a prerogative of the priests. This method seems to have fallen early into desuetude and in the later Hebrew priestly codes, the *Urim* and *Thummim* are referred to as part of the ceremonial costume of the High Priest (*Ex. XXVII, 30; Lev. VIII, 8*; etc.). They were inserted in a square pouch hanging upon the "breastplate of judgment" on the High Priest's breast-covering; but their exact meaning seems to have been lost at that epoch. They had become merely a part of the priestly ceremonial dress. Many explanations of the origin, the form and the meaning of the *Urim* and *Thummim* have been proposed. Cf. John Spencer, *De Legibus Hebraeorum ritualibus* . . . , 1685, who has been much contradicted by Witsius, Marsham, Calmet, etc.; the *Dict. of Moréri*, III, etc. W. Muss-Arnolt (*The Urim and Thummim*, in *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, July, 1900), has attempted to connect them with the Babylonian Tablets of Destiny.

²⁴ *Matthew*, chapter 2, strophe 23.

²⁵ Pierre Thomines du Bosc (1623-1692), whom Louis XIV called "le plus beau parleur de mon royaume," was a Protestant preacher celebrated enough at the time to be the subject of a special biography: Ph. Legendre, *Vie de Pierre Thomines du Bosc*, Rotterdam, 1694. Cf. Bayle, *Dict.*, I, p. 620 a; Gigas, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

²⁶ *Revelation*, chapter 3, strophe 15.

²⁷ Le Père Léon's real name was Jean Macé (born at Rennes, 1600-1671). His cloister name was Father Léon de Saint-Jean. He was one of the heads of the Order of the Carmelites. The work cited by Bayle may be a translation of his *Encyclopedie Præmissum, seu sapientia universalis delineatio* (1635). Cf. Barbier, *Dict. des Ouvrages anonymes*, 11910; Côme de Saint Etienne de Villiers, *Bibliotheca Carmelitana*, etc.

traité de *La Manducation du Corps de Christ* par le même,²⁸ tous traités fort bons et d'une critique très profitable. J'ay vu aussi quelque chose d'un livre intitulé *Scaligerana*, qui est un recueil des entretiens de vive voix de Scaliger le fils.²⁹ Le fait est que les messieurs du Puy³⁰ qui étoient élevés auprès de ce grand homme couchoient par écrit tout ce qu'ils luy entendoient dire indifféremment. D'où est venu qu'un certain Sarrauius,³¹ qui a mis le

²⁸ The Jean d'Espagne to whom Bayle refers is most likely the Jewish convert, "Juan de España," who lived at the beginning of the fifteenth century, and was renowned for his polemical works in favor of Christianity. It is to him that a F. Diego de Valencia de León addressed a satire which is found in the *Cancionero de Baena*. (Amador de los Ríos, *Estudios históricos, políticos et literarios sur les Juifs d'Espagne*, Paris, 1861, pp. 379-382.) This "Juan de España" is, no doubt, identical with the convert, "Juan le Vieux". Joseph Jacobs (*An Inquiry into the Sources of the History of the Jews in Spain*, 1894, p. 189) mentions: "ex Juan de España (Polemical Writer, Spanish poet)," as found in 1416 in Villa Martin and later in Toledo. Now, this date and these localities are the ones mentioned by Amador de los Ríos (*op. cit.*, pp. 386-387) for "Juan le Vieux": "[Juan le Vieux] naquit à Villamartin vers le milieu du XIV^e siècle, sans doute, et, convaincu des erreurs du judaïsme, il embrassa la religion chrétienne, en entendant la voix inspirée de Saint Vincent Terrier. Dès lors, il consacra ses efforts à la défense de la vérité évangélique. Ce converti avait été un des docteurs les plus distingués de la loi mosaïque. Il s'était fait remarquer entre les rabbins de Tolède par la sévérité de ses doctrines et l'austérité de ses mœurs. Dès qu'il fut chrétien, il se rendit célèbre par son zèle ardent, et il composa un livre intitulé: *Mémorial des mystères du Christ*, pour donner aux catholiques une preuve de sa foi pure, et pour démontrer aux Juifs la nécessité d'abjurer les erreurs où ils vivaient. Ce livre, composé, comme l'affirme Juan le Vieux lui-même, en l'année 1416 dans la ville de Tolède, quand il était déjà avancé en âge, se divise en dix-sept chapitres de peu d'étendue et dans lesquels brille une science des plus grandes et des plus piquantes.

"Juan le Vieux composa aussi un autre traité dont le titre était: *Declaración del Salmo LXXII del Salterio*, Commentaire du psaume LXXII du Psautier, ouvrage où il se montre si érudit et si versé dans l'étude des livres sacrés de la Bible, que sa lecture ne laisse aucun doute que l'auteur n'ait été un des plus doctes rabbins de son temps..." Amador de los Ríos transcribes Chapter VI of the *Mémorial des Mystères du Christ* (*op. cit.*, pp. 387-388) and also part of his *Commentary on Psalm 72* (pp. 388-389). In note 1 he indicates that other manuscript works of Juan le Vieux are in the Biblioteca Nacional (p. 389). Cf. Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. VIII; Kayserling, *Sephardim. Romanische Poesien der Juden in Spanien*, 1859, etc.

²⁹ Joseph-Justus Scaliger, 1540-1609.

³⁰ Christophe Dupuy (c. 1580-1654), theologian, became the director of the Order of the Chartreux. Pierre Dupuy (1582-1651), his brother, was a well-known historian who became librarian of the king. Jacques Dupuy (1586-1656), another brother, was also a historian and librarian of the king. "Jacques Dupuy légua à la Bibliothèque du Roi une collection de neuf mille volumes imprimés et 300 volumes manuscrits rassemblés par lui et son frère."

³¹ The *Scaligerana* as we know it is composed of two parts: the conversations gathered by Vertunien, from 1574 to 1593, published separately in Groningue (Saumur), 1669; and those gathered from 1603 to 1606 by the Vassan brothers, printed separately in La Haye, 1666, and in Rouen, 1667. But in the edition of the *Scaligerana* of Amsterdam, 1695, the two parts have been merged together. A. Baillet, in his *Jugement des Savans*, III, pp. 155-156, explains the origin of the *Scaligerana* as follows: "Pour ce qui est de cette critique continuelle qu'il débitait de vive voix dans la conversation, le Public a obligation à Messieurs de Vassan, neveux de Messieurs Pithou qui avoient demeuré chez lui, d'en avoir recueilli des fragments [Note]."

Note: "Il entend Jean et Nicolas de Vassan, fils d'un Mr. de Vassan, sieur de Remi-Ménil, mari de Perrette Pithou (sœur de Pierre, de François, etc. Pithou) morte sur la fin de 1604 à Genève où, dès 1572, elle s'étoit retirée. Ces frères Vassans étant allés faire leurs études à Leyde, y voyoient assidument Joseph Scaliger, et recueilloient avec soin ce qu'ils lui entendoient dire de curieux. A leur retour en France, où ils se firent Catholiques, ils communiquèrent leurs Recueils à Messieurs du Puy. Ceux-ci à Mr. Sarrau qui en laissa une copie à son fils Isaac, des mains duquel ils passèrent à celles de Daillé le fils qui, pour s'en rendre l'usage plus commode, en rangea les articles selon l'ordre de l'alphabet. Il en fit autant du *Perroniana*. Ensuite de quoi

nez dans la bibliothèque de messieurs du Puy après leur mort, y a trouvé cela et en a fait un juste volume qu'il a fait imprimer sous le titre que je viens de dire. C'est un livre où il y a de très bonnes choses et qui ne sont pas indignes de leur auteur; mais il y en a d'autres qui le deshonnorent entièrement et qui le perdent de réputation si l'on ne considérait pas que ce sont des discours qu'il a tenus en se peignant ou en se débattant, et pensant si peu travailler pour le public que même il ne songeait pas que personne s'en dût jamais ressouvenir. Et voilà la lecture que j'ay faite *operis succisivi*. Pour le capital de mon étude j'ay lu quelque chose de la philosophie de Mr. de Rodon,³² quelque autre chose de Vendelin³³ ou du système de Mr. de Marets,³⁴ et le *Nouveau Testament* en original. A propos de Mr. de Marets, la belle chose qu'est sa bible!³⁵ De tant d'ouvrages qu'il a

Isaac Vossius, qui étoit alors à Paris, ayant eu communication tant du *Scaligerana* que du *Perroniana*, procura l'édition de l'un et de l'autre, chez Adrien Vlac, Libraire à La Haie.

"Près d'un siècle auparavant, savoir environ l'an 1575 et depuis, jusqu'en 1592, François Vertunien de Poitiers, Médecin de Mrs Chateigners de la Rochepezei, dans la maison desquels demouroit en ce tems-là Joseph Scaliger, ayant occasion de le pratiquer, écrivoit pour son utilité particulière les choses pleines d'érudition qu'il lui entendoit dire. Les cayers qu'il en laissa sont demeurés plusieurs années après sa mort ensevelis dans quelque cabinet obscur, d'où ils ont enfin été tirés par un homme de lettres, avocat à Poitiers, nommé Mr. de Sigognes. C'est lui qui ayant acheté ce Recueil, le fit imprimer sous le titre de *Scaligerana prima*, lui conservant par-là le rang de son ancêtre. En sorte que le précédent *Scaligerana*, quoique publié deux ou trois ans auparavant, n'a été depuis appelé par rapport à celui-ci que *Scaligerana secunda*."

³² David Derodon (c. 1600, † at Geneva, 1664). He professed philosophy at Orange, Nîmes and Geneva, where he took refuge in 1663, after the republication of his volume, *Le Tombeau de la Messe*. He had leanings towards the philosophy of Gassendi, and opposed the system of Descartes, of which a number of Protestant theologians were partisans. His reputation as a dialectician was so great that once when he appeared anonymously in a theological dispute, his opponent cried out: "You are either the devil or Derodon." He composed a great number of polemical works, such as *La Lumière de la Raison opposée aux ténèbres de l'Impiété*, 1647; *Discours contre l'Astrologie judiciaire*, 1663, etc. But Bayle refers more especially to his philosophic treatises such as *Logica restituta*, 1619; *Disputatio de libertate et atomis*, 1662; *Compendium Philosophiæ*, 1663. There had appeared at Geneva the *Dav. Derodonis Opera omnia*, 1664-1669, in two volumes, of which the first contained his philosophic and the second his theological systems. Cf. Bayle, *Dict.*, IV, 117 b; Haag, *La France Protestante*, etc.

³³ Godefroi Wendelin (1580-1660). A Flemish priest, renowned for his knowledge of geometry, astronomy, etc. He established a school at Digne and corresponded with Gassendi, Naudé, and other outstanding savants of his day. Bayle refers to his doctrine "que Dieu a créé le monde par un principe de bonté," in Chapter CL of his *Réponse aux questions d'un Provincial* and calls him "auteur célèbre parmi les Protestants réformés." He wrote many books, most of them scientific in nature, as for example: *Loxia, seu de obliquitate solis distributa* . . . , Antwerp, 1626; *De tetradis pythagoræ epistola dissertatio*, Louvain, 1627; *Censura et judicium de falsitate bullæ Martini I pape*, Brussels, 1643, against the abbé de Saint-Amand; *Leges salicæ illustratæ: illarum natale solum demonstratum, cum glossario salico legum adventicarum*, Antwerp, 1649, etc. Cf. Foppens, *Bibl. Belgica*, etc.

³⁴ Samuel Desmarets (1559-1673), called Maresius. After having been minister of various Protestant churches, he became successively professor of theology at Sedan, at Bois-le-duc and at Groningen. In 1673 he was called to the chair of theology at the University of Leyden, but he died before he could begin his courses. He left a great number of polemical works against the Catholics, the Socinians and, especially, against Grotius. A list of his works, about one hundred, can be found in Nicéron, vol. XXVIII. The "système" to which Bayle refers is the *Collegium theologicum, sive brevis systema universæ theologiæ*, 1673 (?).

³⁵ *Bible françoise, édition nouvelle sur la version de Genève, avec les notes de la Bible flamande, celles de Jean Diodati et autres* . . . , Amsterdam, 1669, 3 vols. in-fol.

donnés au public, dont la plupart ne sont pas grand' chose, celui-cy est le plus savant, le plus utile et le plus universellement estimé. Les notes marginales sont très judicieuses, essentielles et fines; et généralement tout y est bien entendu; — si bien que le travail de Mr. Diodati³⁶ a été fort éclipsé depuis que cet autre a vu le jour. Elle est accompagnée, cette bible de Mr. de Marets, de plusieurs tables géographiques qui satisfont les curieux, et quoyque le langage françois n'en soit pas d'une finesse à contenter les puristes, il est pourtant male et pur autant que le doit être un ouvrage de cette nature. Je ne say pas si vous avez ouï parler de ce que le Synode d'Anjou, qu'on vient de tenir, a fait sur l'affaire de Mr. d'Huisseau,³⁷ ce ministre inquiet de Saumur, qui a si souvent troublé le repos de son Eglise. On vient d'écrire de cette province qu'il a été déposé. Vous savez sans doute qu'il avoit composé un livre touchant l'accord des deux religions, et qu'il avoit renouvelé la fameuse tentative de Mr. de La Milletière,³⁸ sinon plus adroitement et plus régulièrement que luy, au moins d'une façon qui hazarroit plus les intérêts de la réformation et qui les prostituoit, pour ainsi parler. Ce qu'il y avoit encore de dangereux c'est qu'il tendoit à établir, quoyque faisant semblant de n'y songer pas, cette pernicieuse maxime dont tant de gens se sont laissés coiffer après le savant Grotius,³⁹ que pourvu que l'on croye certains chefs généraux, qui constituent l'essence du Christianisme,

³⁶ Jean Diodati (1576-1649), the renowned Genevan theologian, whom Théodore de Bèze named professor of Hebrew at twenty-one years of age. As a zealous Calvinist he attempted to spread the Reformation in Italy, and translated the *New Testament* into Italian (1608). In 1609 he became professor of theology at Geneva, but resigned in 1645. In 1638 he had issued translations into French of the Book of Job, of Ecclesiastes, and of the Song of Songs; and in 1644 he published *La Bible complète* in French.

³⁷ D'Huisseau published in 1670 at Saumur *La Réunion du Christianisme*. This book became the center of a violent controversy and d'Huisseau eventually lost his positions as preacher and professor in the Academy of Saumur. De la Bastide wrote *Remarques sur un livre intitulé "La Réunion du Christianisme", ou la manière de rejoindre tous les chrétiens sous une seule confession de foi*, Saumur, 1670; and d'Huisseau defended himself in two pamphlets: *Apologie pour le livre intitulé "La Réunion du Christianisme" et pour celui qui en a été soupçonné à Saumur*, La. Haye (?), 1670, and *Remarques sur les "Remarques" faites sur le livre intitulé: "La Réunion du Christianisme,"* 1670. The controversy continued to rage for some time, and in 1674 J. Graverol, under the pseudonym of J. Rolegravius, published against the project of d'Huisseau his *De Religionum conciliatoribus*.

³⁸ Théophile Brachet de La Milletière (c. 1596-1665). While "elder" at the Protestant church of Charenton, he engaged in several religious disputes, and took part in many intrigues of the "Réformés." He was sent to Toulouse and condemned to death, but was pardoned by the king. After four years of imprisonment, he was given a pension of 1000 écus on condition that he do his utmost to unite the various churches. He became a devoted follower of Cardinal Richelieu, and quarreled with his fellow Protestants. In 1644 the "consistoire" of Charenton issued a decree of excommunication against him, and he quickly adopted the Catholic faith in 1645. He was praised by Grotius. Among his works may be mentioned: *Discours des vraies raisons pour lesquelles ceux de la religion en France peuvent et doivent, en bonne conscience, résister par armes à la persécution ouverte*, 1622; *Lettre à M. Rambours pour la réunion des évangéliques aux catholiques*, Paris, 1628; *De universi orbis christiani Pace et Concordia per cardinalem ducem Richelium constituenda*, Paris, 1634; *Christiana concordia inter catholicos et evangelicos in omnibus controversiis instituenda Consilium*, 1638; *Le Moyen de la Paix chrétienne*, Paris, 1637; *Le Pacifique véritable*, 1644; *L'Extinction du Schisme*, Paris, 1650; *La Victoire de la Vérité pour la paix de l'Eglise*, Paris, 1651, etc. Cf. Bayle, *Dict.*; Haag, *La France Protestante*, etc.

³⁹ As is well known, Hugo Grotius openly and consistently defended the reconciliation of Catholics and Protestants and a general toleration of religious differences.

il est indifférent de quelle religion on vivra quant au reste; et qu'il n'en est point qui en soi et de sa nature soit préférable à l'autre. Mr. Le Fèvre⁴⁰ qui, comme vous savez, est un homme sans religion, a été de moitié avec lui de cet ouvrage, ou, pour le moins, a fait des vers qui ont été mis au frontispice; et le Synode l'a condamné à désavouer cela à peine d'être destitué. Pour Mr. d'Huissaut, il en a appelé à un autre synode; et l'on ne sait pas encore bien quel sera l'issue de tout cecy.

"Vous aurez sans doute appris la mort de Mr. Morus,⁴¹ et le deuil de son Eglise sur luy, ainsy je ne vous en diray rien. Je vous prie seulement de me donner de vos nouvelles au plus tôt; car je suis fort en peine de n'en avoir point encore reçues. Vous pourrez vous servir ou de Mr. Oulez ou de Mr. Fargues de Puylaurens qui écrivent souvent à leurs fils. Mr. Bonnafons,⁴² proposant qui me sert beaucoup pour me faire trouver une condition, vous baise très humblement les mains, et moi je les baise au cousin Naudis,⁴³ de qui je vous demande aussi des nouvelles; et ce faisant prieray Dieu pour votre prospérité, repos et bonne fortune. Je n'oublie point mon frère Joseph,⁴⁴ que j'embrasse avec affection, l'exhortant à bien étudier et à se rendre capable de paroistre avec honneur dans les Académies. Si pourtant il n'a pas été admis à la confidence et n'a pas su encore où je suis, *Nihil de me resciat per me licet*. On vient d'imprimer icy un livre d'un professeur suisse, nommé, si ma mémoire ne me trompe, Jacob Gérard des Bergeries,⁴⁵ intitulé *Moyse dévoilé ou explication des figures de l'Ancien Testament*. Il servira de beaucoup aux proposans et leur servira de pédagogie de la pédagogie mosaïque."

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⁴⁰ Tannequi Lefèvre (1615-1672), called Tanaquillus Faber in Latin, was the father of Mme Dacier. He became interested in the Reformation, and went to Preuilly in Touraine, where he professed Calvinism. He was famous for his knowledge of the classic languages and literatures, and was called to teach at the Academy of Saumur. There, however, he had quarrels with the "consistoire", and his enemies attacked him for his rather light conduct and his libertine opinions, which he expressed openly. He therefore left Saumur in 1670, and wanted to go to Heidelberg where he had been invited by the Elector of the Palatine, but died in 1672, before he could fill his new post. Most of his works deal with classical literature. Among them we may mention: *Diatribe: Fl. Josephi de Jesu-Christo testimonium suppositum esse, ad Joannem Chabrolium*, Saumur, 1655, reprinted four times; *Traité de la superstition, composé par Plutarque et traduit en françois avec un entretien sur la vie de Romulus*, Saumur, 1666, etc. Cf. Nicéron, III, p. 193; Haag, *La France Protestante*, etc.

⁴¹ Alexandre More (born 1616), called Morus in Latin, died in Paris on September 28, 1670. The famous Protestant minister who traveled extensively in Switzerland, Holland, etc., and became pastor of the church of Charenton in 1659. Among his works are: *De necessaria Dei gratia disp.* IV, Geneva, 1644; *Calvinus*, Middelbourg, 1648; *Causa Dei, id est de Scriptura sacra exercitationes*, Middelbourg, 1653; *Fides publica contra calumnias J. Miltoni scurras*, La Haye, 1654, etc. Cf. Bayle, *Dict.*; Haag, *La France Protestante*, etc.

⁴² Mr. Fargues and Mr. Bonnafons, Protestant candidates for the ministry.

⁴³ Bayle's cousin, to whom many of his existing letters are addressed. Cf. especially *Nouvelles Lettres de Mr. P. Bayle*, La Haye, 1739.

⁴⁴ Joseph Bayle, his younger brother, who died in 1684. Cf. especially the letter about him by Jacob Bayle, in Gigas, *op. cit.*, p. 161 ff.

⁴⁵ *Moyse dévoilé, ou Explication des types et figures de l'Ancien Testament*, Geneva, 1670. Details on the des Bergeries family are to be found in Reboulet and la Brune, *Voyage de Suisse*, La Haye, 1686, 1st part, p. 16. Cf. Barbier, *Dictionnaire des Ouvrages anonymes et pseudonymes*.

MISCELLANEOUS

AN UNNOTICED POLITICAL ARTICLE OF MARTÍNEZ DE LA ROSA (1812)

IN his recent study of Martínez de la Rosa,¹ M. Jean Sarrailh has made accessible much new material, both biographical and critical, on the political life and thought of one of the important figures in Spanish politics and letters of the first half of the nineteenth century.² Especial attention is paid to the sources and development of Martínez's rather commonplace political ideas. In this process M. Sarrailh brings out the striking contrast between the naïvely doctrinaire constitutionalism and somewhat radical democratic tendencies of Martínez's early years and the increasingly conservative principles and practice of the minister of 1822 and of 1834, the author of the *Estatuto Real* and the

¹ *Un homme d'état espagnol: Martínez de la Rosa (1787-1862)*, Bordeaux - Paris, 1930 (*Bibliothèque de l'École de Hautes Études Hispaniques*, XV).—This *thèse doctorale* is the fruit of long research in many public and private libraries and archives in both France and Spain. Although abundant, the documentation might at times be more extensive and less "choppy," particularly in the case of the diplomatic reports of the French ambassadors to Madrid in the troubled days of Martínez's two ministries, which are interesting enough to have warranted their publication in a more complete form in an appendix. Extracts or digests of the more important of Martínez's unpublished speeches might with profit have been similarly made available. M. Sarrailh makes little use of the abundant newspaper and periodical comment of the day nor does he take sufficiently into account the contemporary estimates of Martínez's political activity. After all, few public men have ever been more accurately estimated by their contemporaries than was Martínez, whose own party, after 1844, used him chiefly for ornamental purposes. In the extensive bibliography of political and historical works—the literary bibliography is not intended to be complete—the following omissions were noted: (a) Martínez's own works: *Memoria leída a las Cortes . . . por el Sr. Secretario del Despacho del Estado*, Madrid, 1822; *Discursos pronunciados . . . en las discusiones del Congreso . . .* Madrid, 1837; *Discursos pronunciados en el Congreso* (by Toreno, Alcalá Galiano, M. d. I. R., etc.) . . . Madrid, 1838; letters in I. Bauer y Landauer, *De mi archivo. Cartas del siglo XIX*, Madrid, 1926, and in *Correspondance du Marquis de Labrador . . . avec M. Martínez de la Rosa, ministre des Affaires Étrangères à Madrid, au sujet d'un monstrueux abus de pouvoir de ce ministre*, Paris, 1834; the two *discursos de apertura* of the Ateneo delivered Nov. 3, 1812 and Nov. 10, 1860 (published in Madrid, same years). (b) Critical works: J. L. Villanueva, *Vida política y literaria*, 2 vols., London, 1825; I. Barbier, *Martínez de la Rosa*, Saint-Germain, 1862; J. Valera, *Historia y política (1819-68)* in *Obras completas*, v. 38; A. M. Dacarrete, *Martínez de la Rosa*, in *España del siglo XIX*, Madrid, 1886, I, pp. 407-445; *Dos capítulos de historia contemporánea sobre los ministerios de Felis y M. d. I. R.* (ms. 12970, ²² Bib. Nac., Madrid).—Neither *Hernán Pérez del Pulgar* (Madrid, 1834) nor *Doña Isabel de Solís* (3 vols., Madrid, 1837-46) are included in the bibliography nor treated in the discussion of Martínez's historical works.

² The literary work of Martínez is taken up only incidentally. It is a pity that M. Sarrailh felt obliged to limit his study to the political side, since even as a statesman, Martínez remains essentially a man of letters. It is to be hoped that M. Sarrailh will soon give us a scholarly study of his literary work.

first leader of the *moderado* party.³ Owing to the lack of documents for the period prior to 1820, M. Sarrailh was compelled to reconstruct Martínez's youthful political creed largely from scattered remarks in works that are primarily historical or literary in character.⁴ Consequently it may be worth while to call attention to a hitherto unnoticed article of a political nature, written by Martínez in 1812, which contains a clear statement of some of his basic ideas and adds several details to those brought out by M. Sarrailh. This article also reveals his hostility to the Inquisition, his part in the famous controversy aroused by Gallardo's *Diccionario crítico-burlesco*, and his probable authorship of the two pamphlets signed *Un ingenio tostado*.⁵

Between April 15 and 21, 1812, the *Diccionario crítico-burlesco* was denounced to the Regency, condemned by the *Junta de censura*, the edition suppressed, and the author jailed preparatory to trial.⁶ In their denunciation of the *Diccionario* the ecclesiastical authorities, under the guise of a desire to guard against the abuse of the newly-established freedom of the press, had appealed to the Regency for more vigorous measures against what they called the flood of immoral and irreligious publications permitted by the new law. This veiled attempt to regain some of their former control of the press⁷ provoked the following letter in *El redactor general*⁸ (published in Cádiz) for April 27 (No. 318), in which the insincerity of the protest and its violation of proper constitutional procedure is scored:

"Artículo comunicado.

"La templada y prudente representacion dirigida a la Regencia por el Sr. Provisor de este obispado, con motivo de la publicacion del *Diccionario crítico-burlesco*, ha excitado en mí ciertas dudas, que presento al público, deseo de que haya quien tenga la bondad de desvanecerlas; con lo cual se logran juntamente dos buenos efectos: amargar la dañada alegría de los que creen que un abuso de la libertad va a originar su total destruccion; y al mismo tiempo calmar la inquietud de muchos liberales suspicaces y asustadizos. Llámolos así, porque al leer en dicha representacion *que el riesgo de la última perversion de la moral cristiana es tan inminente, como lo demuestra la descarada animosidad con que se mofa la religion y sus ministros; al leer que de varios impresos habla el vicario eclesiástico, y entre ellos, por mas reciente y mas completamente in-*

³ This change, which dates from 1820, is quite sudden, and is paralleled in his literary life by the apparent *volte-face*—in the opposite direction—offered by *Edipo* (1829) and *La conjuración de Venecia* (1830). These contradictions are only on the surface. In spirit Martínez remains a doctrinaire and a dilettante, both in literature and in politics: French literary and political ideals of the eighteenth century and the Revolution give way to the literary and political fashions of the Restoration and the Monarchy of July.

⁴ Viz., the historical sketch *La revolución actual de España* and the comedy *Lo que puede un empleo*. The Alfierian tragedy *La viuda de Padilla* might have similarly been used.

⁵ Or *Ingenio Tostado*. See note 16.

⁶ See J. Marqués Merchan, *D. Bartolomé José Gallardo*, Madrid, 1921, pp. 67-96, and P. Sáinz Rodríguez, *D. B. J. G. y la crítica de su tiempo* (in *Revista Hispánica*, LI (1921), pp. 259-275, for detailed account and bibliography. None of the studies of this *cause célèbre* mention Martínez's intervention.

⁷ Gallardo was later triumphantly vindicated and his adversaries punished.

⁸ For an account of this journal see M. Gómez Imaz, *Los periódicos durante la Guerra de la Independencia*, Madrid, 1910, pp. 244-6, who states that Martínez was a contributor, without specifying his contributions. He possibly had in mind the above *comunicado*, and perhaps also those signed M . . . z which appear in Nos. 421, 448, 456, 521, and 569.

moral e irreligioso, del *Diccionario burlesco*; han creído que se trataba en la representación de abultar extremadamente el peligro, y aun de suponer un riesgo que no existe, para presentar como odiosa la libertad de imprenta, que despues se celebra. No se han hecho cargo de que las citadas cláusulas, (expresadas quizá con mas vehemencia que exactitud) no son mas que un desahogo del celo del Sr. Provisor: porque ¿cómo era posible que quisiese significar en ellas que estamos inundados de escritos anti-religiosos, capaces de minar y destruir de un golpe el trono y el altar; y de causar con el trastorno de la moral pública y privada la total disolución del Estado? Sabe el Sr. Provisor que por fortuna no es así: yo a lo menos, podré decir de mí que no sé que se hayan publicado semejantes impresos; y que si los hai, no quedo satisfecho con esta advertencia vaga; y desearia saber determinadamente cuales son los escritos en que se mofa la religion y sus ministros, y que son completamente inmorales, para abstenerme de su lectura. Digo que desearia saberlo, porque no puedo hacer a la ilustración del Sr. Provisor el agravio que le hacen algunos ignorantes, cuando creen habla su representación de los escritos publicados contra la Inquisición y contra autores como el Filósofo rancio: ¡como si tuviera algo de comun la religion santa de Jesucristo con un tribunal, parto del fanatismo; o como si fuera agraviar a los ministros del Santuario criticar las opiniones de algunos de ellos! Antes por el contrario, estoi persuadido a que aludirá mas bien la citada representación a esos escritos calumniosos en que se intenta desacreditar a los hombres de bien y de sabiduría, como lo hacen de continuo el *Censor* y el *Diario de la Tarde*, valiéndose del sagrado nombre de la religion; a esos escritos, como el artículo inserto en el *Censor* sobre el juramento de la *Constitución*, en que se intentó asustar a las conciencias timoratas y seducir a los incautos, en el momento crítico de irse a sancionar aquel código respetable, a riesgo de encender la discordia en nuestra destrozada patria; a esos escritos, como el *Diccionario razonado manual*, en que, echando la culpa a los filósofos, se propagan ideas anti-cristianas, se imprimen blasfemias, se tratan las materias mas santas sin decoro ni miramiento; (1) en fin, se hace un daño tanto mas profundo cuanto mas solapado. ¡Mal haya la perjudicial moderación que se ha usado con tales escritos y sus autores! Por moderación se ha abstenido el Sr. Provisor de denunciarlos en virtud de su ministerio; por moderación se ha visto insultado el augusto Congreso nacional, ya en muchos de sus beneméritos individuos, ya en sus mas sabias decisiones, sin manifestar a la Regencia la amargura que le han causado tales libelos, ni recomendar el pronto y exemplar castigo de los culpables; por moderación no se han oído entonces los justos y continuos clamores de los fieles, contristados al ver tratar las cosas santas sin miramiento ni respeto, valiéndonos de las mismas elocuentes voces de dicha representación; por moderación en fin, sugetos los mas recomendables, y hasta el mismo gobierno, se han visto groseramente zaheridos, perdonando las injurias a sus malignos detractores.

"Pero el haber usado largo tiempo de una mal entendida clemencia, no debe servir nunca de argumento para que se dexé de recurrir a la debida severidad, cuando se juzgue conveniente: y así, habiendo creído el Sr. Provisor que el *Diccionario crítico-burlesco* era contrario a la religion y a la moral ha cumplido con su deber representando los males que juzga seguirse de su publicación. Solo si he extrañado (porque me precio de constitucional y de mui escrupuloso en la separación de los tres poderes) que el Sr. Provisor dirigiese su representación a

la Regencia. La razon de mi extrañeza me parece mui sencilla y obvia: si la representacion iba dirigida contra el *Diccionario*, ya el reglamento de libertad de imprenta señala el tribunal ante quien se ha de delatar un escrito, para que sea censurado, y despues castigado su autor, si apareciere reo; y pedir al poder ejecutivo la aplicacion de una lei a un caso particular es quererle atribuir el poder judicial, y trastornar el orden publico, con ruina de la libertad. Si la representacion tenia por objeto *evidenciar la necesidad de una medida eficaz, que enfrene y corrija la facilidad con que se ve eludir la citada lei de imprenta*, como se expresa el Sr. Provisor; se infiere inmediatamente que si dicha lei es eludida por ser defectuosa, y el Sr. vicario general desea que se mejore, debió recurrir a las Cortes, únicas que tienen facultad de reformar el reglamento de imprenta, como que ejercen el poder legislativo. Solo si la lei se viese eludida por culpa de los que estan encargados de su execucion, haria bien el Sr. Provisor en mostrar este abuso al poder ejecutivo; mas en este caso la representacion seria contra la junta de Censura, no contra ningun escrito. Pero no parece fue este el intento quando la Regencia sabiamente pasó esta representacion a la junta de Censura, mostrando de esta manera al Sr. Provisor el camino que debió seguir desde el principio. Asi es, que el *Diccionario* ha sido juzgado por el tribunal competente; en lo cual, y en la escrupulosa observancia de las leyes, y hasta de las mas menudas fórmulas, estriba la libertad y seguridad individual, primer objeto de la sociedad y de las leyes. Porque si al ver un crimen o abuso de cualquier especie, en vez de recurrir al tribunal que señalen las leyes y de seguirse los trámites que estas prescriben, se recurre al gobierno supremo, y se le piden *medidas eficaces*, mucho riesgo corre, o por mejor decir, ya murió la justa libertad.

"Con todo el alma lo sentiria, Señor Redactor, su seguro servidor Q. S. M. B.—F. M. de la R.

"P. D. Me han asegurado que la junta de Censura no recibe delacion de ningun escrito, ni pasa a censurarlo, a no ser que le sea remitido a este efecto por una autoridad civil: mas aun siendo esto cierto, quedan en todo su vigor las anteriores reflexiones. Porque en ningun caso puede ser el orden legítimo pretender la delacion de un escrito al supremo gobierno; y aun quando le fuere la representacion del Sr. Provisor deberia reducirse a pedir al poder ejecutivo pasase el escrito a la censura; pero quejarse en general de la licencia de los impresos y pedir vagamente que se *enfrene* este abuso con una *medida eficaz*, da mucho que recelar por supuesto a los suspicaces y asustadizos.

"(1) Sirva de muestra el siguiente artículo concebido meramente en estos terminos: Hostia: las opiniones sobre su significacion estan mui encontradas. Hombres hai que creen que es una piedra de molino; pero tambien hai filósofos que procuran demostrar que es una débil oblea como las que usamos para cerrar las cartas. ¡¡ Y este escrito aun no ha sido delatado a la censura !!"⁹

The initials of the signature to this article undoubtedly stand for Francisco Martínez de la Rosa.¹⁰ Furthermore, its rigid and doctrinaire con-

⁹ For the complete copy of this document, I am indebted to D. Rafael Pichardo y O'Leary, librarian of the Biblioteca Provincial de Cádiz.

¹⁰ His patriotic Epístola (first mentioned by Gómez Imaz, *op. cit.*, p. 138) was published in the *Espectador Sevillano* for December 21, 1809, under the initials F. M. d. l. R. This poem has never been republished. I possess a copy.

stitutionalism corresponds to the picture drawn by Sarrailh of the earnest young ideologue, whose primary concern at this time was with the freedom of the press,¹¹ and whose zeal in that connection was later to secure for him—possibly aided by this very letter—the position of secretary of the *Junta de censura*.¹²

The article falls into two distinct parts. In the first part the author, in the heavily ironical style affected by the polemicists of the day, turns the arguments of the *Provisor* against the anti-liberal press. If he cannot directly defend Gallardo's *Diccionario*¹³ without weakening the authority of the *Junta de censura*, he can at least attack the reactionary *Diccionario manual razonado*¹⁴ (to which Gallardo's book was the liberal counterblast) as being much worse. In this part he shows himself to be an open enemy of the Inquisition, of the pretended immunity of the clergy to criticism, and of the entire *servilón* press. The allusion to "los escritos publicados contra la Inquisición y contra autores como el Filósofo rancio"¹⁵ may be taken as an indirect defense of the two pamphlets signed *Un ingenio tostado*, one of which attacked the Inquisition and the other the reactionary P. Alvarado. This allusion certainly strengthens the case for Martínez's authorship of these pamphlets.¹⁶ By a curious irony of fate, the author who here protests against the *moderación* (stressing the word in rhetorical repetition) shown toward the excesses of the *servilones* is the very man who later is to adopt *moderación* as the keynote of a policy and the label of a party formed to combat the ideals of the Constitution of 1812.¹⁷

In the second part of the letter Martínez abandons irony and becomes deadly—almost comically—serious. He magnifies what is at most a minor disregard (or natural ignorance) of constitutional procedure into a grave threat, not only against the freedom of the press, but even against the fundamental theory of constitutional government and the guarantees of personal liberty.¹⁸ He demonstrates at length that the appeal to the Regency constitutes a violation of the doctrine of the division of the three powers, the cornerstone of con-

¹¹ See Sarrailh, pp. 66-69.

¹² The *Redactor general* for April 8, 1813, carries the notice of this appointment.

¹³ Years later, when Martínez was leader of the *moderados* Gallardo attacked him with characteristic violence in his *Discurso del diputado extremeño Gallardo* . . . Madrid, 1837.

¹⁴ See note 6.

¹⁵ The pseudonym of P. Francisco Alvarado, the most redoubtable champion of the old regime, whose famous *Cartas críticas*, first issued separately in Cádiz, were later collected and went through a number of editions (see A. Palau y Dulcet, *Manual del librero hispanoamericano*, vol. I). He also used the pseudonym *Filósofo de antaño*. Gómez Imaz (*op. cit.*, nos. 163, 164, 272) fails to identify this pseudonym.

¹⁶ The pamphlet *Incompatibilidad de la libertad española con el restablecimiento de la Inquisición* signed *Un ingenio tostado* is attributed to Martínez by Alcalá Galiano (*Memorias*, I, p. 291). The *Banderilla de fuego al Filósofo rancio*, likewise published in Cádiz, is by the same author, who is called "Ingenuo Tostado" in the list of prohibited works contained in the edict of July 22, 1815 (Gómez Imaz, Appendix III). I have not been able to see a copy of either of these pamphlets.

¹⁷ Carried away by his youthful enthusiasm for the struggle for national independence and political liberty, Martínez adopted revolutionary ideas out of keeping with his real character, his social background, and his intellectual formation. By virtue of these he was essentially a liberal aristocrat, of the Jovellanos-Quintana kind. After 1820 he reverted to type. See note 4.

¹⁸ Later on, however, Martínez became a staunch advocate of the supremacy of the executive power (see Sarrailh, p. 141).

stitutional theory.¹⁹ For him liberty rests on the right observance not only of laws but *basta de las menudas fórmulas*. Doctrinairism could hardly be carried further. The statement that the *primer objeto de las leyes y de la sociedad is la libertad y seguridad individual*²⁰ forms an interesting contrast to Martínez's position in 1834 when, as the first president of the council of ministers under his own *Estatuto Real*, he vigorously—and unsuccessfully—opposed in the *Estamento de Procuradores* (the lower house) a petition to the Crown to grant a *tabla de derechos políticos*,²¹ the first article of which read: "La libertad individual es protegida y garantida: por consecuencia ningún español puede ser obligado á hacer lo que la ley no ordena."²²

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A GLIMPSE INTO THE HISTORICAL BASIS OF MARTÍNEZ DE LA ROSA'S *ABEN HUMEYA*

FROM the time of the *Poema del Cid* Spanish literature has felt the frequent impress of the historical and the pseudo-historical; and it is not strange that the so-called Age of Romanticism should have been influenced especially by things historical. Martínez de la Rosa contributed toward establishing the vogue for historical settings in the Spanish Theatre by his use of historical backgrounds in *La conjuración de Venecia* and *Aben Humeya*, presented in 1834 and 1836, respectively. The historical background of the first has been treated elsewhere,¹ and the present paper will concern itself solely with the historical basis of *Aben Humeya*.

Martínez de la Rosa seems to have made a rather careful study of the history of the Morisco outbreak in 1568, and he mentions by name two of his sources: Diego Hurtado de Mendoza's *Guerra de Granada*, and Luis del Marmol's *Historia de la rebelión y castigo de los Moriscos del reino de Granada*.² A brief

¹⁹ In this somewhat superficial interpretation of the classical doctrine of Montesquieu Martínez reflects the idea current among Spanish liberals of the day. Sarrailh (pp. 82, 141) is mistaken in asserting that Martínez had no knowledge of the "équilibre des trois pouvoirs" until after 1820. Nevertheless he attributes (pp. 77-82) Martínez's doctrinaire spirit to the influence of Montesquieu's systematizations. But there is no proof that either the attitude or the ideas of Martínez at this time came directly from Montesquieu (although he was undoubtedly the ultimate source), since by 1812 they had become the common property of all the *idologues* (for example, Destutt de Tracy) and, indeed, of liberals everywhere.

²⁰ This is another principle common to current liberal thought, reflecting the spirit of the *Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme*.

²¹ Reproduced in *El Gobierno y las Cortes del Estatuto* [by Fermín Caballero], Madrid, 1837, pp. 31-33.—Sarrailh is mistaken (p. 214) in saying that "presque tous les articles [of this petition] sont traduits de notre *Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme*." They reproduce the general spirit rather than the form of the *Déclaration*, with many additions and omissions due to the developments of political theory since 1789 and to the specific situation in Spain. See note 19.

²² This article was finally passed in the emasculated form "La ley protege y asegura la libertad individual," which provoked Larra's satirical article *La gran verdad descubierta* (in the *Revista española* for Sept. 5, 1834).

¹ Robert Avrett, "A Brief Examination into the Historical Background of Martínez de la Rosa's *La conjuración de Venecia*" in *THE ROMANIC REVIEW*, Vol. XXI, No. 2, April-June, 1930, pp. 132-137.

² *Obras dramáticas de D. F. Martínez de la Rosa*, 3 Vols., Madrid, 1861, "Prólogo" to *Aben Humeya*, Vol. II, pp. 97-98.

survey of the rebellion of the Moriscos may be in order before beginning the examination into the historical elements found in the play itself.

The entrance of Ferdinand and Isabella, the "Catholic Kings," into Granada on the second day of January, 1492, marked the final triumph of the Spaniards over the Moorish invaders who had come over from Africa in the early years of the eighth century. After centuries of intermittent struggles the Christian had defeated the Mohammedan, and the Spaniards lost little time in undertaking the conversion of the conquered race to Christianity. Under the guidance of Talavera, the first archbishop of Granada, the work of conversion was begun through preaching and legitimate persuasion; but the fanatical Cardinal Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo, resorted to drastic measures, ably supported by the newly-established Inquisition. As punishment for an attempted rebellion, the Moors were given the alternative of being baptized and adopting Christianity or of leaving their homes and country. As a result of this ultimatum practically all the Moslems within the boundaries of the dominions of Castile, with very few exceptions, agreed to accept Christianity; and these converted people were henceforth known as *Moriscos* instead of by the old term of *Moros*.³

These new Christians failed to display any marked zeal in the observance of their professed faith, however, and the Spanish clergy persuaded Charles V to issue, in 1526, an edict designed for the people of Granada. This edict forbade the practice of former Moorish usages, the wearing of Moorish dress, and even the use of the Moorish language. The Morisco leaders remonstrated strongly with Charles, and at length he allowed himself to be bribed not to put the hateful restrictions into effect.⁴ Nevertheless, the mere publication of the edict established an alarming precedent which could not fail to cause the Moriscos uneasiness when they contemplated their future in the land of their conquerors.

The accession of Philip II to the throne in 1556 was unfortunate for the Moriscos. Philip conceived it his duty to force them to adhere to the tenets of the Church, and in this policy he was encouraged and abetted by the clergy. The Moriscos were scattered over southern Spain, but the greatest number were found in the mountain range of the Alpujarras, to the southeast of Granada, and among the sierras extending along the southern coast. These people still retained many of the traditions and customs of Moorish Spain, and they were accused frequently of observing secretly the religious practices of their former faith.

Drastic action was resorted to by the Spanish government. Beginning with the year 1560, a series of edicts and ordinances were issued which aroused the Moriscos to the verge of desperation. Among the most irksome of the provisions of these measures were the prohibition of the use of Negro slaves by the Moriscos; the requirement that all arms should be stamped with the seal of the Captain-General of Granada, and their owners required to have a special license before being allowed to possess or to use these arms; the prohibition of the use of Moorish dress or the employment of the Arabic language either in speech or

³ William H. Prescott, *History of the Reign of Philip the Second, King of Spain*, 3 Vols., Boston, 1859, Vol. III, pp. 5-9.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 9-11; Luis del Marmol Carvajal, *Historia del rebelion y castigo de los Moriscos del reyno de Granada*, 2 Vols., Madrid, 1797, Vol. I, Book II, ch. II, pp. 132-134.

writing; and the forcible adoption of Spanish names in place of the baptismal and family names of the Moriscos. These legal restrictions even went so far as to forbid, under severe penalties in case of disobedience, the taking of warm baths, a sanitary practice to which the Moriscos were greatly addicted.⁵

The publication of the edict containing the greater number of these restrictions was delayed until January, 1567, and it was greeted with dismay and rage by the Moriscos. Efforts to have these hateful legal restraints set aside were fruitless, and the Moriscos resolved to adopt desperate measures. In December, 1568, the rebellion flamed up in the Alpujarras, led by Farax Aben Farax, a dyer of Granada. The revolt soon became general, and Aben Humeya, a young Morisco of noble lineage, was set up as king of the rebels. The war was prosecuted with relentless vigor by the Spaniards, first under the leadership of the Marquis de Mondejar, Captain-General of Granada, and later under the personal direction of Don John of Austria, the bastard son of Charles V and the half brother of Philip II. Aben Humeya was murdered traitorously; but a kinsman, Aben Abó, became king, and the Moriscos continued their stubborn but hopeless struggle against their Spanish oppressors. In this war both Spaniards and Moriscos were guilty of atrocities worthy of the most ignorant and depraved of savages. An ultimate Spanish victory was inevitable. In 1571 Aben Abó was murdered by some malcontents among his own followers, and soon the rebellion was crushed. The Moriscos were scattered over Spain, and heavy penalties were inflicted upon any Morisco who ventured within ten leagues of Granada. Philip II had broken the power of the Moriscos and had driven them into exile from their native homes. It remained for Philip III to expel them from the Peninsula.⁶

Let us turn now to the play itself, in order to see to what extent Martínez de la Rosa has been true to actual history. The cast of characters consists mainly of historical names. (Since various spellings are found in the several works consulted, the names of all characters will be spelled as in the play.) Aben Humeya, whose Spanish name was Fernando de Valor, was a young Morisco of distinguished lineage; and he was married to a daughter of Miguel de Rojas (called Muley Carime in the play).⁷ Aben Juhar, otherwise known as Fernando de Valor el Zaguero, the uncle of Aben Humeya, was largely responsible for the crowning of his nephew.⁸ Aben Abó was a kinsman of Aben Humeya and was chosen to succeed him to the kingship of the Moriscos.⁹ Aben Farax, elsewhere called Farax Aben Farax, was a dyer of Granada and the chief

⁵ Albert de Circourt, *Histoire des Arabes d'Espagne sous la domination des Chrétiens*, 3 Vols., Paris, 1846, Vol. II, pp. 263-278; Marmol, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, Book II, chapters III-VI, inclusive, pp. 135-146; Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, *Guerra de Granada, hecha por el Rey de España Don Felipe II nuestro Señor, contra los Moriscos de aquel Reyno, sus rebeldes*, Valencia, 1730, pp. 22-23.

⁶ For the history of the Morisco rebellion, consult the following:

Circourt, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 287-447, Vol. III, pp. 1-146; Marmol, *op. cit.*, in extenso;—more especially, Vol. I, Book IV, p. 224 to end of Vol. II; Mendoza, *op. cit.*, in extenso; José Muñoz y Gaviria, *Historia del alzamiento de los Moriscos, su expulsión de España, y sus consecuencias en todas las provincias del reino*, Madrid, 1861, pp. 110-152; Prescott, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 36-295.

⁷ Circourt, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 299.

⁸ Mendoza, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-39.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 223; Circourt, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, footnote to p. 16.

instigator, apparently, of the Morisco uprising.¹⁰ El Alfaquí may be passed over in the cast of characters, as the name simply means a priest of the Mohammedan faith. Lara, the envoy from the Captain-General of Granada, is probably the dramatist's own creation; but El Partal, El Dalay and El Xeniz, mentioned as leaders of the rebel Moriscos, are historical characters. Only one Partal is mentioned in the play, but there seem to have been three brothers of this name who were prominent in the rebellion.¹¹ Mendoza¹² mentions a Turkish captain by the name of Dali, evidently the Dalay of the play; and Gonzalo el Xeniz was the Moorish captain who killed Aben Abó and delivered his body to the Spaniards, thus effectually ending the rebellion.¹³ Zulema may or may not have been the name of Aben Humeya's wife, but her sole historical importance seems to have been as the link which connected her husband and her father. It may be doubted that Aben Humeya had a daughter of the age of the Fátima of the play, for he was only twenty-two years of age when elected king of the Moriscos.¹⁴

The first several scenes in Act I attempt to portray Aben Humeya as a peaceful, loving husband and father whose endurance is exhausted finally by the oppressions of his Spanish persecutors. As for his devotion to his wife, it is interesting to note that one historian states that Aben Humeya fled to the mountains at the outbreak of the rebellion, accompanied only by a Negro slave and a certain Morisco widow, the same woman who later betrayed him.¹⁵ The references made by Aben Humeya (Act I, Scene I), Muley Carime (Act I, Scene III) and Aben Farax (Act I, Scene IV) to the odious provisions of the edicts against the Moriscos have their bases on historical facts, as we have seen already in our brief survey of the causes leading up to the revolt.

Aben Humeya's surprise at the news of his father's imprisonment, when the information is brought by Aben Abó (Act I, Scene V), is simply a dramatic device of the author. As a matter of fact, both the father and a brother of Aben Humeya were in a Spanish prison in Granada, but Aben Humeya had taken a drastic revenge upon the accusers of his father.¹⁶

The scenes showing the meeting of the rebel Moriscos in the cave of El Alfaquí and his selection of Aben Humeya for the office of king (Act I, Scenes IX, X and XI), although effective dramatically, are historically inaccurate. The first meeting at which it was determined to elect a king was held in the *Albaicín*, as the Morisco quarter of Granada was called; and it was the fiery eloquence of Aben Juhar that chiefly influenced the Moriscos to choose his nephew, a lineal descendant of the Prophet Mohammed and of the former Moorish kings of Granada.¹⁷ The actual coronation ceremony which occurred

¹⁰ Mendoza, *op. cit.*, p. 60; Prescott, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 37-38.

¹¹ Circourt, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 291.

¹² *Op. cit.*, p. 64.

¹³ Circourt, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 142-146; Mendoza, *op. cit.*, pp. 325-331; Prescott, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 281-285.

¹⁴ Circourt, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 299; Prescott, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 45.

¹⁵ Muñoz y Gaviña, *op. cit.*, p. 124. Marmol, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, Book IV, ch. VII, pp. 252-253, mentions the flight with a Negro slave and a Morisco woman, but the author does not say that this was the same woman who later betrayed the young king.

¹⁶ Circourt, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 299, 404-406; Mendoza, *op. cit.*, p. 39; Prescott, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 46, 120.

¹⁷ Mendoza, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-39.

later in the mountains, however, was not greatly dissimilar to the ceremony described in the play (Act I, Scene XI), although the historical coronation was accompanied by more pageantry.¹⁸ At this ceremony certain prophecies concerning the new ruler were made by an *Alfaquí*, or priest,¹⁹ in the same vein as those put into the mouth of El Alfaquí in the play (Act I, Scene XI).

Historically, the actual war of rebellion may be said to have begun with the slaying of a small body of Spanish troops under the command of a Captain Herrera. These Spaniards were on the way to Granada, and they lodged for the night in Cadiar. During the night the soldiers were set upon and slain by the Moriscos in whose houses they were staying, and it is said that Aben Juhar instigated this act of treachery.²⁰ The attack made upon Cadiar in Act II of the play seems more like the ineffectual assault upon Granada made by Aben Farax and a small force of followers on the night of December 26, 1568.²¹ After vainly trying to get the Moriscos of the Albaicin to join him, Aben Farax was forced to withdraw from the city because his men were too few for him to risk a battle with the rallying Spanish garrison. Little damage and few casualties had resulted.

Little else remains to be treated in Act II, except to point out that Aben Abó's hatred and jealousy of Aben Humeya seem to have little or no historical justification. It is a matter of record that Aben Abó once underwent torture at the hands of Spanish soldiers because he refused to reveal the whereabouts of his kinsman and king.²² Aben Abó seems to have remained loyal to his young leader almost up until the end.

Martínez de la Rosa crowds much action into the third and final act of the play, and not a few historical discrepancies may be noted. In certain places changes were unavoidable, notably in the death scenes of Muley Carime, the father-in-law of Aben Humeya. In the play Muley Carime, confronted with the accusation of treason (Act III, Scene VII), calmly swallows the poison given him by his son-in-law. In the same scene Muley Carime declares that his chief concern is for the safety of his daughter and his granddaughter (Aben Humeya's wife and daughter), and he secures the promise of Aben Humeya that he will send them to Tangier where they will be safe from the fortunes of war. The actual manner of Muley Carime's death was very different indeed. Aben Humeya had his father-in-law called, and when he appeared with his family, Muley Carime was set upon and murdered by his son-in-law and El Xeniz. Most of the members of Muley Carime's family were slain at once, and Aben Humeya repudiated his marriage to the daughter of Muley Carime.²³ Thus the young king of the Moriscos shows himself in a very different rôle from the one he enacts in the play.

The presence of Aben Farax among the rebels who invade Aben Humeya's castle (Act III, Scene XIII et seq.) is another deviation from history. Much

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 42-43.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 43; Circourt, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 305-306.

²¹ Martin A. S. Hume, *Philip II of Spain*, London, 1927, pp. 129-130; Prescott, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 40-42.

²² Circourt, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 395-396; Marmol, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, Book V, ch. XXXIV, pp. 503-504.

²³ Circourt, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 356-357.

earlier during the war Aben Farax had been accused of irregularities in the disposition of captured spoils of war, and Aben Humeya had dismissed him from the office of Alguacil-Mayor.²⁴ Possibly Aben Humeya was glad to avail himself of any pretext for getting rid of a powerful enemy, for the post of Alguacil-Mayor had been given to Aben Farax simply as a sop to his disappointment at not having been elected king.²⁵ Long before the death of the Morisco king, Aben Farax had dropped out of the limelight; and his ultimate fate is a matter of extreme uncertainty.²⁶

The manner of Aben Humeya's death in the play (Act III, Scenes XVII and XVIII) is also far from accurate. The conspiracy which resulted in his death is rather complicated, but the salient points may be summed up briefly. It seems that Aben Humeya had taken into his harem the widow of Vicente de Rojas, a relative of the murdered Muley Carime (Miguel de Rojas was his Spanish name, it will be recalled). Disappointed, possibly, because her beauty and noble birth had not caused her to become Aben Humeya's queen, the Morisco widow began to plot against the king; and in this she was aided by Diego Alguacil, a relative of whom she formerly had been the mistress. A crisis was brought about when Diego Alguacil sent to Aben Abó a letter bearing the forged signature of Aben Humeya. In this letter Aben Abó was ordered to kill by treachery a group of Turkish mercenaries who were aiding the Moriscos in the war. Aben Abó apparently did not suspect the authenticity of the letter, but the command was one that he was unwilling to execute. Instead of obeying the written order, he showed the letter to the Turkish leader. Greatly enraged, the Turk immediately demanded the death of Aben Humeya. Aben Abó had served his kinsman loyally up to that time; but the persuasions of the Turk and Diego Alguacil, together with the promise of succession to the kingship, overcame whatever scruples Aben Abó may have entertained. The conspirators set out immediately for the headquarters of Aben Humeya. It was night when the mixed band of Turks and Moriscos arrived, and they reached the very dwelling of the king before any suspicion of their purpose had been aroused. So sudden was the entry of the rebels that the young king was surprised in his bedchamber, where he was made prisoner before any opposition could be organized. It was in vain that Aben Humeya protested that he was innocent, that the letter was a forgery, and that he had never issued such an order against the Turks. His captors placed a guard about the deposed king, and during the night he was strangled. Aben Abó was proclaimed his successor. Just before he was killed, Aben Humeya is said to have declared himself still of the Christian faith; and he prophesied that Aben Abó soon would meet a like fate, just as a similar prediction is made in the play (Act III, Scene XVIII).²⁷

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 315-316; Marmol, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Book VII, ch. XXVIII, pp. 225-226.

²⁵ Marmol, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, Book IV, ch. VII, p. 254; Muñoz y Gaviña, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

²⁶ Marmol, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Book VII, ch. XXVIII, pp. 225-228.

Mendoza, *op. cit.*, pp. 325-326, mentions a prisoner named Farax who suggested to the Spaniards the idea of using El Xeniz to effect the capture of Aben Abó, and it is barely possible that this prisoner may have been the former Alguacil-Mayor.

²⁷ Circourt, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 13-21; Marmol, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Book VII, ch. XII, pp. 161-169; Mendoza, *op. cit.*, pp. 214-220; Prescott, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 181-187.

The play ends with the death of Aben Humeia and the acceptance of Aben Abó as king, but it is interesting to note that the dying king's prophecy with respect to his successor was fulfilled. Aben Abó later was slain treacherously by El Xeniz and his followers, who had agreed to deliver the king to the Spaniards as the price of pardon for themselves. The head of Aben Abó was placed over one of the gates of Granada, together with the following ominous inscription: "This is the head of the traitor, Aben Abó. Let no one remove it, under penalty of death."²⁸

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LEFT AND RIGHT TURNS IN THE DIVINE COMEDY

DANTE'S turning to the left as he descends through Hell, and to the right as he ascends the mount of Purgatory, is usually explained by the association of left and right with evil and good. *Sinistra* is sinister.

This is true enough, and for Hell and Purgatory might suffice. But in Eden on the top of the mount, Beatrice—and after her, Dante—starts ascent into the heavens by turning to the *left* towards the Sun. Surely this turning is not sinister.

A deeper symbolism resolves, I think, the apparent contradiction.

Dante's conception of regeneration—for himself and for mankind—is really re-generation, rebirth. Man must be spiritually born again, start afresh. Man started in Eden, but went wrong. He must get back to that "primo tempo umano," as Virgil—though not quite accurately—is made to say.¹ So Dante himself, who had started right, but gone wrong, must get back to his first "disposition," his *vita nuova*.² In fact, identifying himself with mankind, he goes all the way back to Eden, and there becomes

"Rifatto si come piante novelle
Rinnovellate di novella fronda,
Puro e disposto a salire alle stelle."³

To get back to this "primo tempo umano," he may be said to go against the course of time. Or, since time is measured by the revolving Sun,⁴ to go against the course of time is to go against the course of the Sun.⁵

Now to an observer on the habitable earth—*i. e.* for Dante, in the North temperate zone—the course of the Sun appears to be from left to right. This fact is implied in *Purg.* iv, 53 ff. "Dante, facing East, looks up to the Sun, now

²⁸ Circourt, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 140-145; Marmol, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Book X, ch. VIII, pp. 449-456; Mendoza, *op. cit.*, pp. 325-331; Prescott, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 280-285.

¹ *Purg.* xxii, 71.

² *Purg.* xxx, 109-20.

³ *Purg.* xxxiii, 143-5.

⁴ *Par.* x, 28-30.

⁵ My contention would make this direction taken by Dante meritorious. It is—under the circumstances. "Non v'era altra via," declares Virgil. (*Purg.* i, 62.). Constantine's turning the Eagle "contra il corso del ciel" (*Par.* vi, 1-3) was, on the other hand, not meritorious. The circumstances were different. Before he "con le leggi e meco . . . si fece Greco" (*Par.* xx, 55, 57), he was already in the Eden of the intact Christian Empire. He was as wrong to go back from that condition as Dante would have been to go back from Eden to Hell.

risen 50°, and is surprised to see it on his left. Virgil explains in effect that, since the Sun's course is confined within the tropics, it circles to the South of an observer in the North temperate zone, to the North of one at the antipodes. Consequently, an observer in the Northern Hemisphere following its course will turn from left to right; one in the Southern Hemisphere from right to left.

Hell is under the Northern hemisphere, and under the meridian of Jerusalem; the mount of Purgatory antipodal to Jerusalem. So Dante, turning always to the left as he spirals down through Hell, and to the right as he spirals up around the Mount, is in both cases—from the viewpoint of the respective hemispheres—going against the course of the Sun, symbolically against the course of time,—back to Eden.

In Eden, having now, so to speak, *unwound* himself from evil, he starts with Beatrice the further ascent "to the stars" by turning, as said, to the *left*, that is, looking from Eden, with the course of the Sun; and so continues through the heavens. Making a new right start, he rightly follows the true guide, spirals with the

"pianeta
Che mena dritto altrui per ogni calle."⁶

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A BRIEF OUTLINE OF FOREIGN INFLUENCES ON THE NEAPOLITAN DIALECT

IN ancient times, Greeks who had settled at Pithecusa (Ischia) Cumae (Cuma) and Dicaearchia (Pozzuoli), on the Bay of Naples, founded Parthenope or Palaeopolis, the name of which, after the town had been enlarged by colonists from Athens and Chalcis, was changed to Neapolis. In 328 B. C. Neapolis became allied with Rome as a *foederata civitas*, and remained such until the fall of the Roman empire. From 455 to about the middle of the sixth century, Naples was invaded by the Vandals, Goths and Lombards, and sacked by Belisarius. In 553 Naples fell again under Greek power, and was long a dependency of the exarchate of Ravenna. From the beginning of the eighth until the beginning of the twelfth century Naples kept at bay the Lombard dukes of Benevento and enjoyed comparative independence, under self-chosen leaders. With the advent of Ruggiero Normanno (Roger de Hauteville, 1130) Naples became more or less continuously the capital of the Kingdom of Naples and the two Sicilies. In 1194 the Norman domination ended. Naples passed then under the Hohenstaufens whose hegemony extended to 1266. In this year Charles of Anjou, brother of Louis IX of France, became king of Naples and thus initiated the Angevin rule, which lasted until about the middle of the fifteenth century. In 1443 Alfonso d'Aragona was made "Rex utriusque Siciliae" and Naples came into the hands of the Aragoneses who held sway, with some interruption, until the beginning of the sixteenth century. The Spanish rule began in 1516, when Charles V was crowned king of Spain, and Naples was governed by Spanish viceroys until 1713, the date of the Treaty of Utrecht, by virtue of which "Sicily" was given over to the Bourbon duke Victor Amadeus

⁶ *Inf.* i, 17-8.

of Savoy. From the latter it reverted back to Spain, which in 1720 surrendered it to Austria. From 1738 till 1805 Naples was, with various degrees of instability, under the Bourbons. The reigns of Joseph Bonaparte and Joachim Murat occupy the period from 1805 to 1815, when the Bourbon rule was restored, and continued, with a crescendo of revolutionary commotions, till the unification of Italy in 1860.

The above sketch may serve as a miniature historical background to introduce the subject of foreign influences upon the modern Neapolitan dialect. The passage from Greek, Latin and Italian to Neapolitan is not considered here. In treating the outstanding foreign sources of Neapolitan — Spanish, French and, to a lesser degree, German — only words will be studied which have no etymological equivalents in Italian, or which are either morphologically or phonologically nearer the originals than are the Italian forms.

I have tried to keep the word-material within the confines of the modern living dialect,—this in spite of the fact that I have included some few words which have perhaps disappeared in the newer Naples, but which are still alive on the lips of the older people from the older and more backward sections of the city. I make this statement advisedly and with some authority, simply because, being of Neapolitan ancestry, having been born, brought up and educated in and near Naples, I am a true Neapolitan. The Neapolitan dialect is not only my native language but also my mother tongue and the language of my predilection. I am therefore familiar with the sort of Italianized "patois" spoken by the educated and semi-educated people of Naples, and also thoroughly conversant with the rougher, coarser and more truly Neapolitan dialect of such sections of the city as 'O Carmene, 'O mercato, and Bascio Puerto. Appended to this article, in a "Bibliographical Note," I list the books—except some titles of well-known general works—which I consulted, including those whose authority, upon careful scrutiny, I either doubted, or rejected.

SPANISH INFLUENCE—The long Spanish domination in Naples brought with it of necessity a telling influence of Spanish upon Neapolitan. Many of the words, however, that may come from Spanish are so intimately connected, both semantically and phonologically, with Latin, Italian, and other Romance forms that a separation is difficult. Also, the changed political situation has been the cause of the rapid elimination of *parole spagnoleggianti*, some of which obtained until long after 1860. Of the Neapolitan words of immediate Spanish origin, the following groups will give, I hope, an adequate idea, both qualitatively and quantitatively.

Type of Neapolitan words derived from Spanish which have either disappeared since 1860 or are now rarely used:

borraccho > *borraccio*; *espanto* > *spanto*; *afufar* > *affuffa(re)*; *aprovechar* > *approveccia(re)*; *enfadado* > *nfadato*; *criado* > *criato*.

Type of more or less current Neapolitan words derived from Spanish, whose equivalents in Italian are *spagnolismi*:¹

¹ The abbreviation REW, used herein, stands for W. Meyer-Lübke, *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1911, 3rd ed., Lief., 1-2, 1930). Of the Neapolitan words given by B. Croce (*La lingua spagnuola in Italia*, Roma, 1895) as of Spanish origin, some have

abbocar > *abbuccarese*; *rapar* > *arrappa(re)*; *avistar* > *abbista(re)*; *bugla* > *buglia*; *caracol* > *caracò*; *callar* > *caglia(re)*; *lienza* > *lenza*; *manteca* > *manteca*; *encastrar* > *ncrasta(re)*; *berza* > *verza*; *camorra* > *camorra*; *niño* > *ninno*; *pasamano* > *passamano*; *rifa* > *riffa*; *afuerta* > *affrunte*; *borrico* > *burrico*; *ceniza* > *cenisa* (It. *cinigia*); (O. F. *baraut*, *beraut* >) *farante* > *f(a)rabutto*.

Type of more or less current Neapolitan words derived from Spanish with no etymological equivalents in Italian:

(Cat.) *amobinar* > *ammoina(re)* (REW 540); *apretar* > *appletta(re)*; *adonarse* > *addonar(e)se*; *alifar* > *alliffa(re)*; *atrasar* > *attrassa(re)*; *atraso* > *attrasso*; *borro* > *borro*; *calabozo* > *carabozza*; *cava* > *caira*; *cava* + *aere* > *caiera*; *caponada* > *caponata*; *cartera* > *cartiera*; *caminante* > *caminante*; *colada* > *colata*; *empanada* > *mpanata*; *entrañas* > *ntragne*; *escopeta* > *scuppetta*; *resbalar* > *sbaria(re)*; *cigarro* > *sicarro*; *soltero* > *soltiero*; *dosel* > *tosello*; *taca* > *tacca*; *tirantes* > *tiranti*; *busmo* > *uosemo*; *guapo* > *guappo*; *lazarro* > *lazzaro*; *perro* > *perro*; *punteria* > *puntaria*; *palillo* > *palicco*; *papel* > *papello*; *desmayado* > *smaiato*; *escabeche* > *scapece*; *limpio* > *limpio* (REW 5056); (Cat.) *melsa* > *meuza* (REW 5579); *ribete* > *revetiello* (REW 7328); (O. Cat. and Prov.) *gayola* > *gaiola*; *cabeza* > *capezza*; *papar* > *pappa(re)*; *pelea* > *pelea*; *rasguñar* > *rascagna(re)*; *cenarro* > *zerrezzerre*; *escobilla* > *scopiglia*; (Cat.) *rua* > *rua*; *paloma* > *palomma*; *Don* > (D)on.

A summary semantic scrutiny of these words will yield the following main groups:

1) Psycho-physiological words: *abbuccarese*, *arrappà*, *abbistà*, *buglia*, *caglià*, *riffa*, *affrunte*, *ammoinà*, *appletà*, *addonarese*, *alliffà*, *sbarià*, *uosemo*, *guappo*, *smaiato*, *pappà*, *pelea*, *rascagnà*; 2) Anatomical and the like: *caira*, *caiera*, *ntragne*, *meuza*, *capezza*; 3) Household, (a) Culinary: *manteca*, *verza*, *caponata*, *mpanata*, *ntragne*, *meuza*, *scapece*, *pappà*; (b) Miscellaneous: *caracò*, *passamano*, *lenza*, *revetiello*, *cenisa*, *colata*, *scuppetta*, *puntaria*, *zerrezzerre*, *gaiola*, *carabozza*, *cartiera*, *palicco*, *scopiglia*.

In connection with the foregoing, it is interesting to note that *ammoinà*, *rua* and *meuza* (< Cat. *melsa* < O. Span. *melsa* < O. H. G. *milzi*, cf. REW 5579) come directly from Catalan; that Catalan *arcera* (< L. *acceia*) coincides with Neapolitan *arcera*; that Neapolitan *argatella* (< L. *ergata* < Gk. *'ergáta*) is nearest Catalan *argadell*, and that Neapolitan *arpeglia* > Cat. and Span. *arpella* (REW 4058).

FRENCH INFLUENCE—Although the French influence upon Neapolitan was not historically as potent as the Spanish influence, yet, between early Provençal and later French infiltrations, what remains of it in modern Nea-

not been used for lack of sufficient data or for other obvious reasons, and *nzertare* and *spiare* have been rejected. *Nzerta(re)* < L. *insertare* (REW 4459). The Catalan (*e*)*spiar* has a meaning similar to the Neapolitan *spia(re)* (It. *sbiciare*, Span. *acechar*) but it is generally so strictly related to It. *spiare* and other Romance forms, all derived from Germanic *spēhon* (REW 8137) that its pattern for the Neapolitan form is doubtful or difficult to establish.

² Mentioned by Frieda Kocher in her *Reduplikationsbildungen im Französischen und Italienischen*, 1921, but with no reference to its Spanish origin, which is quite obvious.

politan is not at all negligible. This applies of course to the more or less obvious forms, for here also an exhaustive separation is difficult for the same reasons that were mentioned in connection with the Spanish influence. The following word-groups may serve to illustrate the nature and also somewhat the extent of French influence upon Neapolitan.

Type of words of immediate French derivation current in both modern Italian and modern Neapolitan:

(Frank. *bukon* > N. Prov.) *bugado* > *bucato*; *bleu* > *blu*; *boucle* > *buccolo*; *blouse* > *blusa*; *bagatelle* > *bagattella*; *bonbonnière* > *bomboniera*; *cocarde* > *coccarda*; *croc* > *crocco*; *marmite* > *marmitta*; *ragout* > *ragù*; *briguer* > *brigare*.

Type of words borrowed from French, of current use in Neapolitan, but Gallicisms in Italian:

bijoutier — *bisciuttiere*, *bigiottiere*; *bijouterie* — *bisciutteria*, *bigiotteria*; *gilet* — *gilè*, *gilè*; *corset* — *curzè*, *corsetto*; *fichu* — *fisciù*, *fisciù*; *croquet* — *crocchè*, *crocchetta*; *laquais* — *laccchè*, *laccchè*; *emprunter* — *mprunta(re)*, *improntare*; *carnage* — *carnaggio*, *carnaggio*; *commode* — *commò*, *comoda*; *paletot* — *palettò*, *paltò* or *paltonne*.

Type of words derived from French, used in old Italian, obsolete in modern Italian, of current use in modern Neapolitan:

Prov. *s'asetar* > *assettare*; Prov. *alumar* > *allumma(re)* (O. It. *alumare*); Prov. *damnatge* > *dammaggio*; Prov. *falbensa* > *fallenza*; Prov. *menar* > *mena(re)*; Prov. *pertus* > *pertuso* (O. It. *pertugio*); Prov. *semana* > *settimana*; Fr. *épinge* > *spingula*.

Neapolitan words of French derivation with no etymological equivalents in pure Italian:

bouquet > *buchè*; *cacheette* > *cascetta*; *crochet* > *croscè*; *framboise* > *frambuasso*; *mademoiselle* > *maramusella*; *saigner* > *nzagnà*; *percer* > *percià*; *poupée* > *pupata*; *rabat* > *rabà*; *ronfler* > *runfà*; *chiaper* > *scippà*; (O. Fr. *sparaigner*, *esparagnier*) *épargner* > *sparagnà*; *tirebouchon* > *tirabusciò*; *char-à-bancs* > *sciaraballo*; *jabot* > *sciabò*; *monsieur* > *monsù* (= *cuoco*); *endouille* > *annoglia* (REW 4384); *mâtire* > *mattura* (REW 5797); *empeigne* > *mpigna* (REW 4297); (N. Prov.) *mucadù* > *muccaturo* (REW 5706); (O. Fr. *privaie*) > *prevasa*; *giflet* > *ieffola* (REW 4699); (Prov., Piedm., Lomb.) *bren* > *vrenna* (REW 1284); (Gall.) *gubbia* > *gubbia* (REW 3911); *chanteuse* > *sciantosa* (S. di Giacomo, *Teatro*, p. 371); *grattoir* > *gratturare* (op. cit., p. 215); *fourchette* > *furscè* (op. cit., p. 224); *comme il faut* > *commisò* (S. di Giacomo, *Poesie*, p. 14); *chic* > *scicco* (E. Scarpetta, *Na bona guagliana*, p. 17); *trottoir* > *trotturare* (op. cit., p. 34); *chasse* > *sciassa* (op. cit., p. 51).

Note the following semantic groupings of the words considered:

1) Household: (a) Culinary and the like: *ragù*, *crocchè*, *annoglia*, *frambuasso*, *vrenna*, *marmitta*, *bomboniera*, *tirabusciò*, *furscè*; (b) Sartorial and the like: *coccarda*, *fisciù*, *rabà*, *sciabò*, *muccaturo*, *blusa*, *gilè*, *palettò*, *curzè*, *spingula*, *croscè*, *bucato*, *mpigna*, *sciassa*; (c) Miscellaneous: *buchè*, *commò*, *runfà*, *sparagnà*, *gratturare*; 2) Social and the like: *sciantosa*, *maramusella*, *monsù*, *pupata*, *laccchè*, *bisciutteria*, *prevasa*, *assettare*, *allumma*, *brigà*, *mpruntà*, *dam-*

maggio, fallenza, ieffola, bagattella, cascetta, sciaraballo, trottuare, commifò, scicco.

GERMANIC INFLUENCE—An examination of Bertoni's *L'elemento germanico nella lingua italiana* reveals the fact that many of the terms given as of Germanic origin are either learned, rare, or technical, and are consequently far from forming a part of the vocabulary of any dialect, certainly not of Neapolitan. Whatever the Germanic element in Neapolitan may have been in the past, it seems to have but a minor importance in the dialect of today. Many of the commoner words have been rejected in Neapolitan which uses non-Germanic substitutes, as against the current Tuscan words of Germanic origin. Thus, *tasca* is *sacca* in Neapolitan, *scherzare* is *pazziare*, *ruzzare* is *runfare*, and so on. On the other hand, the following may be illustrative of words of Germanic origin common to both Italian and Neapolitan: M. H. G. *zecken* > *azzeccare*; M. H. G. *becber* > *bicchiere*; Germanic *wardon* > *guardare*; Long. *spabhan*, M. H. G. *spachen* > *spaccare*; Germanic *stockfisch* > *stoccofisso*; Goth. *spirts* > *spiedo* (Neap. *spito*); VL *theotiscus*, O. H. G. *thiudix* > *tedesco*; M. H. G. *zitze* > *zita*.

I have been able to separate only a few Neapolitan terms of Germanic origin for which there are no etymological equivalents in Italian; they are:

Long. *gaida* > *gaina* (It. *gberone*) (REW 3638); M. H. G. *kifel* (via Fr. *giflet*) > *ieffola* (It. *buffetto*) (REW 4699); O. H. G. *merken* > *mercere* (It. *marciare*) < M. G. *marken*) (REW 5533); Germanic *plewi* > *prieggio* (It. *malleveria*) (REW 6599); M. H. G. *rappe* > *repecchia* (It. *ruga*) (REW 7059); O. H. G. *ruf* > *rova* (It. *lattice*) (REW 7424); Bav.-Austr. *buf* > *uffo* (It. *anca*) (REW 4225). (*Uffo* is rare in modern Neapolitan, otherwise used by Capasso in his *Sonetti*, for which cf. D'Ambra).

ARABIC INFLUENCE is very slight in Neapolitan and comes mostly via Spanish or Sicilian:

Ar. *garad* > *iorda* (plur. *gbiorde*; It. *giarda*) (REW 3943); Ar. *sikbag* (Sp. *escabeche*) > *scapece* (REW 7909); Ar. *arata* (Sic. *arrassari*) > *arrassa(re)* (REW 599; G. Gioeni, *Saggio di etimologie siciliane*, p. 33; G. Maria da Aleppo, *Le fonti arabe del dialetto siciliano*, p. 35); Ar. *tabut* (Sic. *tabbutu*) > *ta(v)uto* (REW 8516; G. Maria da Aleppo, *op. cit.*, p. 361).

A perusal of the foregoing shows that the opinion entertained by many as to the preponderance of Spanish terms in Neapolitan in comparison with French is contrary to fact. It bears out the quality of the foreign political influences in Naples through the Catalan and Provençal words that still persist, at such a late date, in the dialect of today. Finally, the semantic groups show what is true of foreign influences in general, *viz.*, that the longer or more cogent foreign dominations leave their imprint in words dealing with the fundamental processes of life, whereas the lighter political influences affect only its surface or transient values.

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ADDITIONAL PERSIAN LETTERS BEFORE MONTESQUIEU

IN an earlier study, *Persian Letters before Montesquieu*,¹ I discussed the several precursors who fashioned the genre which Montesquieu was to bring to its perfection; and I attempted to prove that from Marana's *Letters of a Turkish Spy* of 1684 until Montesquieu's *Persian Letters* of 1721, the minor pseudo-foreign letter genre evolved from casual comment on contemporary politics to an organic criticism of life and thought.

From Marana to Montesquieu several books appeared that were the milestones marking the successive stages of this evolution; and although every one of them has been pointed out as the *direct* source of Montesquieu's *Lettres*, I have tried to demonstrate that this honor should not be ascribed to any one of them. Montesquieu had several precursors who, before him, exemplified the criticism of Western civilization by an observant and naïve savage or Oriental; and it is risky to single out any one of them as the *direct* inspirer of the *Persian Letters*, the more that we may assume that he was acquainted with a number of these pseudo-Oriental productions.

Ever since Voltaire, the incentive for the writing of the *Persian Letters* has been attributed to either Marana's *Letters of a Turkish Spy* or to Dufresny's *Amusements sérieux et comiques*. To these two suggested sources Maurice Meyer, in 1850, added a letter in the *Spectator* of April 27, 1711, in which three Indian kings are supposed to describe their impressions of London and European dress. Again, on June 21, 1714, the *Spectator* published a spurious letter of a supposed "ambassador of Bantam," flaying the insincerity of European court-manners. At last, in 1917, M. Ernest Jovy brought to light again two obscure political pamphlets of 1716, written by a lawyer of Aix, Joseph Bonnet, and entitled *Lettre écrite à M. Musala, homme de loy à Hispahan, sur les mœurs et la religion des François, et sur la querelle entre les Jésuites et les Jansénistes*. . . M. Jovy republished them in the *Bulletin du Bibliophile* and believed Joseph Bonnet to be "le précurseur et l'inspirateur direct des *Lettres Persanes*."

Thus the merit of having inspired Montesquieu *directly* has been successively ascribed to at least four precursors, and it is rather remarkable that with a slight dose of good-will we can easily prove,—and even by the means of our convincing and scholarly "parallel columns,"—that the *Persian Letters* were derived directly from each one of them. In fact, Pietro Toldo in the *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana* (1897) has pointed to a number of parallels between the *Persian Letters* and Marana; and, according to the time-honored method of scholarly proof, he would have carried his case fully.

However, the difficulty of having four direct precursors is materially increased when we find six, seven, or more of them, all of whom resemble

¹ *Modern Language Review* of England, October, 1925.

Montesquieu equally well, and yet remain equally distant from him. In fact, it is easy enough to point to several other "precursors" or "inspirers" of Montesquieu, and their works offer, in certain cases, still closer resemblances to the *Persian Letters* than the examples which have been discovered until now.

For instance, in 1700, there appeared in the *Saint-Evremoniana*, a collection of miscellanies wrongly ascribed to Saint-Evremond, a *Traduction d'une Lettre Italienne écrite par un Sicilien à un de ses amis, contenant une critique agréable de Paris*,—a jocose criticism of French customs and beliefs, which has remained of uncertain authorship, and has been ascribed to Saint-Evremond, to Cotelendi, to J.-P. Marana, and to others. A separate edition is listed by Martino, in his *L'Orient dans la Littérature française*, as having appeared in 1714. Although it claims to be but a letter, it constitutes in reality a rather long satire of about sixty pages, making merry with the noise and the confusion of the capital, with French politeness, with authors and academicians, charlatans and financiers, with assumed devotion and social hypocrisy, with light-headed abbés and boresome *nouvellistes*,—with all the types and aspects of contemporary Parisian life. The supposed Sicilian, who was made responsible for this collection of witty observations, plays exactly the same rôle as the Persians do in Montesquieu's missives; and their attitude of mind betrays a general similarity of point of view.

Again, an English work which was a direct imitation of Dufresny's *Amusements sérieux et comiques* could be listed as a direct precursor of the *Persian Letters*. In 1700 (the same year that the *Sicilian Letter* just referred to appeared, and barely one year after Dufresny's volume), Tom Brown, a scurrilous literary hack from Grubb Street, published his *Amusements Serious and Comical, calculated for the Meridian of London*. He did not only rely on Dufresny, but also drew for his descriptions of contemporary London life on Ned Ward's *London Spy*, which in its turn was, of course, largely an imitation of Marana's *Turkish Spy*. In Tom Brown's adaptation, Dufresny's inquisitive "Siamese" is replaced by an inquisitive "Indian." It is by this sarcastic and naïve "Indian" of 1700 that the 1711 letter of the *Spectator* was no doubt suggested. Tom Brown originated the character of the observant "Indian," although after a French pattern, and to him he attributed the *Fragments of an Indian Letter*, which imitates the make-believe naïveté of Dufresny's "Siamese."

But Tom Brown added a second part to his adaptation, under the title of *More Amusements*, in which the author and his savage guest are led through all the landmarks of London, both of the upper and the under world. In doing so, he found occasion to write over sixty pages of sarcastic comment on European civilization as viewed through an Indian's eye. The very variety of the several halting places where the "Indian" reveals his wisdom, reminds one strongly of the diversity and mobility of Montesquieu's *Persian Letters*. The innocent simplicity and natural wit of this intellectually gifted "savage" finds full occasion for censure in successive visits to a London tavern, to St. Paul's Cathedral, a Presbyterian meeting-house, a Quaker church, a bawdy house, the coffee houses, Westminster Abbey, etc. Yet it is more than doubtful that Montesquieu had ever seen this English precursor of his description of a "Christian Babel," not any more than Ned Ward's *London Spy* which contains similar scenes and observations published years before the *Persian Letters*.

In my article in the *Modern Language Review*, I referred especially to one of these so-called "precursors of Montesquieu,"—to J.-F. Bernard who, in 1711, in his *Réflexions morales, satiriques et comiques sur les mœurs de notre siècle*, had published no less than eight fragments in letter-form of a Persian "*Philosophe*," who travelled through France and sent home missives filled with his considerations on European ideas and social conditions. These letters deal successively with:

I. *Le Mérite des Européens*; II. *L'Amitié des Européens*; III. *L'Honnête homme des Chrétiens*; IV. *La Dévotion des Chrétiens*; V. *Les Modes*; VI. *Les Discordes des Chrétiens, causées par l'ambition; leur politique, etc.*; VII. *Description d'un Etat Chrétien*; VIII. *Les Préjugés*.

In these letters, J.-F. Bernard puts into the mouth of his so-called "Persian," all the sarcastic observations which he himself, as a French Protestant exile in Holland, had been making on the religion and the social conditions of the country that had banished him. They show unmistakable kinship with Montesquieu's *Persian Letters*. In them is illustrated the junction between the pseudo-foreign letter genre and the critical spirit which was to characterize the eighteenth century. However, *Les Réflexions morales, satiriques et comiques sur les mœurs de notre siècle* met with great success, and counted several editions before the appearance of Montesquieu's *Persians*. It was issued in 1711, 1713, and 1716 (followed by an edition in 1733, which was notably increased and changed). Since the appearance of my above-mentioned study, I have noticed that in the 1716 edition of this volume, there was printed a ninth, hitherto unnoticed, *Persian Letter* by J.-F. Bernard, dealing with the thorny subject of the "Religion of the Christians." It was composed not earlier than 1715 (although the first edition of the work had appeared in 1711), since in the opening paragraph the author refers to the adventures in Paris of the most notorious Persian ambassador, Mehemet Riza Beg, whose exploits, both commercial and amorous, have been described by M. Maurice Herbertte in his volume, *Une Ambassade Persane sous Louis XIV* (1907). The ninth *Persian Letter* begins:

"Je te donne avis que je suis dans la capitale du plus florissant état de l'Europe, la perle des villes de l'Empereur des François, où j'ai été témoin de deux grands événements. J'ai vu l'entrée de celui que le Seigneur des Rois de l'Orient a envoyé pour communiquer son amitié à l'Empereur qui tient sa cour à Versailles et pour lui donner part à son estime. L'esclave du souverain qui dicte des yeux ses volontés a été reçu comme triomphant. Rends grâces à Dieu, qui donne aux infidèles l'admiration et la crainte."

The second part deals with the condemnation of Father Quesnel and his 101 heretical propositions by the famous *Bulle Unigenitus*, which was to be the center of a religious tempest for several decades. It stigmatizes especially the attitude of the Jesuits in this famous religious controversy, and uses in its vocabulary every one of the devices which Montesquieu was to put into the mouth of his Persian travellers. The Pope, for instance, is called *Le Mufti des Chrétiens*:

"J'ai vu aussi une grande division entre les Nazariens François au sujet d'une longue lettre circulaire que le *Mufti* des Chrétiens écrit au clergé, pour condamner les explications d'un ecclésiastique sur la Loi des Chrétiens. Cet ecclésiastique est banni depuis longtems de la cour et ses adhérens sont à la veille

d'être persécutés de même que l'ont été les Calvinistes: parce qu'ils disent ne pouvoir recevoir en conscience, ce qu'ils ne croient pas dans leur cœur et que le *Mufti* ne leur veut pas expliquer. Le *Mufti* contredit à la Loi des Chrétiens, dans cette lettre qu'il appelle *Bulle*; car il réfute, ou rend absurde, une partie de la Morale de Christ; et rend inutile l'autre, par le tour d'esprit qui règne dans toute la *Bulle*. Défenseur de la vérité, envoie-moi ton sentiment sur cette *Bulle*. Je la regarde comme un ressort de la politique d'une société d'ecclésiastiques fort dangereux par le pouvoir que leur donne la charge de confesseurs qu'ils occupent dans plusieurs cours de l'Europe.

"Il y a bien de la passion dans cette conduite, mais avant que je vinsse dans ces pays de ténèbres et d'erreurs, la renommée qui vole par tout m'avoit appris par avance, quels sont les excès des Sectateurs de Jésus et avec quelle assiduité ils se rendent aux désirs de leurs passions."

From the observation of the deep-going rivalries between the several Christian sects and orders, the pseudo-Persian observer of J.-F. Bernard passes over to reflections on the Christian religion in general, and in that he shows himself a decidedly free mind, to whom religions and especially the Christian faith, were but various forms of superstition:

"A l'égard de mes occupations particulières; si tu me demandes à quoi je passe le mauvais tems, aprens que je le passe à espérer le bon. Quand j'ai du mal, j'attens le soulagement et je me distrais à la douleur. Quand j'ai du bien, j'en suis occupé, jusqu'à ne pouvoir concevoir comment le mal peut survenir à un homme heureux.

"Je fais des réflexions continuelles sur moi-même; j'examine les maux que la religion occasionne. Je vois par la conduite du Prince régnant, que la superstition est le contrepoids des remors. Si l'on a assez de force d'esprit pour entreprendre des projets au dessus de sa portée, on a la foiblesse de s'endormir sur les discours dangereux des prêtres. Il y en a beaucoup ici qui sont ingénieux à détruire, une bonne fois, tout ce qui est dans leur religion l'objet d'une espérance solide. Tu sais qu'on a vu de tems en tems des hommes se révoltant contre la Divinité, d'autres détruisant les religions établies. Les uns ont pensé qu'il leur seroit glorieux de croire autrement que le vulgaire; les autres ont voulu façonner à leur goût les systèmes établis. Tout cela sans autre vûe que celle de faire parler d'eux après leur mort. Ils croyoient trouver ainsi la véritable félicité et ils s'arrestoient à l'idée d'un renom frivole qui ne pouvoit ni flater leurs sens, ni aggrandir leur personne.

"Autrefois l'homme vicieux ne sachant plus comment se défendre contre les remors constans de la raison offensée, a voulu flater cette raison, en lui faisant voir des Divinités semblables à lui. Voilà la misère de l'homme dans la Religion Païene.

"L'homme vicieux éclairé par une morale fort au dessus de la foiblesse de ses yeux, par une morale que la grande sagesse de Christ a produite, a voulu consoler sa raison s'égayant dans les crimes, par l'idée d'un Dieu très bon, qui devoit pardonner tout ce qui seroit contre cette morale excellente et tenir compte des actes extérieurs de repentance, de la soumission aux prêtres, etc. Voilà la misère de l'homme dans la Religion des Francs."

From these considerations the author drifts into an exposure of the debauchery of the "Franks," and from that he goes over to a complaint that

human reason is the indirect cause of all human misery, since it shows man what evil is, but does not prevent him from committing it:

"J'ai besoin de toute ma raison, pour ne pas trouver l'homme le plus misérable de tous les êtres. Cette raison est même une cause indirecte de sa misère; car elle lui fait voir le mal et rarement l'empêche-t-elle de le commettre. C'est beaucoup qu'elle le porte alors à se couvrir du voile de l'obscurité. Tu me diras, ô Haly, que les conventions humaines, apellées lois, empêchent de commettre publiquement ce qu'elles ont ordonné de regarder comme mauvais. Mais qui a fait ces lois, sinon des hommes? Ils tiroient d'abord des lumières naturelles, qu'il falloit regarder comme dangereux certains excès et les condamner comme mauvais. La religion descendant du ciel est venue aider la nature. Pourquoi donc l'homme vicieux et qui se regarde comme tel, par la manière dont il tache d'échapper aux reproches des autres hommes; pourquoi, dis-je, commet-il le mal? N'est ce pas un effet de la misère de l'homme, que toute sa raison n'est pas capable de le tirer du piège?

"Si l'homme criminel a triomphé de sa raison en se jettant dans le vice, la raison se vange par les remors qu'elle lui présente. Il cède tour à tour à l'un et à l'autre. Et voilà, ô Sage, ce que nous éprouvons tous les jours. Nous aspirons au mal, malgré les efforts des lumières naturelles; quand nous sortons du mal, nous soupçons, malheureux aveugles, après les rayons de la raison. Les remors du crime nous font penser bien sincèrement à ne la plus abandonner: jusqu'à ce que peu de jours après cette lumière semble s'éteindre; et nous voilà encore aveugles.

"Un des plus grans maux de l'homme naît de ce qui doit être le principe invariable de son bonheur: Dieu doit être son souverain bien; il ne le conçoit pas; il s'en fait une idée extravagante et bizarre. Il réfléchit, il examine: mais après une longue méditation, trouvant son raisonnement peu juste et son idée chimérique, il l'abandonne et croit être bien fondé à ne penser plus à une chose dont il n'a qu'une fausse idée."

The "Persian" observer winds up with a defense of the freedom of opinion, of tolerance, of doubt, and search for truth. Real religion should tolerate objections, should permit its dogmas to be examined without passion or opposition:

"Je ne puis souffrir qu'on défende ici les doutes et la recherche de la vérité, par un examen judicieux et modeste. Aprens, ô sage croyant, que l'on va introduire dans cet état la mode de ne plus étudier la vérité, parce que les Jésuites et leurs adhérens soutiennent que le Mufti est infallible; et que l'incorruptible vérité est l'essence de l'esprit de cet homme, aussi-tôt qu'il est devenu chef et interprète de la Loi des Nazariens.

"Tu sais combien la fausseté d'une religion est palpable dès aussi-tôt qu'elle défend l'examen; car la religion véritable doit tolérer les objections, permettre qu'on les examine et les éclaircir sans chagrin et sans passion."

He finally delivers a parting shot against the Jesuits, and especially against Father Le Tellier, the confessor of Louis XIV, whom he depicts as all-powerful over the mind of the "Emperor of the Franks":

"Un de ces Jésuites, homme simple en apparence, mais dangereux par cette fausse simplicité, fin politique, dévot par l'extérieur, ennemi irréconciliable du grand Prêtre de la capitale, a si bien obsédé l'esprit de l'Empereur des Français, que dans peu, vraisemblablement, il sera défendu de connoître d'aucun doute de religion, sinon au tribunal de ses confrères. Comme ils ont l'esprit subtil et

propre à jeter dans la superstition et que l'Empereur vieux et dévot travaille depuis longtems à faire obeïr les consciences: on craint qu'ils ne fassent ici une infinité de libertins et d'ignorans; d'autant plus que les Jésuites vont se faire déclarer seuls examinateurs des livres, et de la religion.

"Pour moi, qui trouve les gens de ce pays-ci d'un caractère très libre et peu propre à gêner leur langue et leurs sentimens, avec cela fort curieux: je doute que jamais on en puisse faire des bigots de bonne foi.

"L'esprit de la religion se révolte contre la conduite de ces disciples de Loyola. Ils disent qu'ils n'ont en vûe dans leur conduite que la gloire de Dieu et du grand Profète Christ. Je ne conçois pas comment ils pourroient prouver ce motif. Ces pères sont trop habiles gens, pour ignorer les difficultés presque invincibles qui se rencontrent dans la conversion d'un seul homme. Il me semble aussi, que leur manière d'agir attribuée à Dieu une grande imperfection, qui est d'aimer un culte non raisonnable et forcé, et de se plaire à être servi par un monde entier d'hypocrites."

This Ninth Persian Letter,—*Réflexions du Philosophe Persan sur la Religion*,—just as the preceding ones of J.-F. Bernard, is entirely in the spirit of Montesquieu's *Lettres Persanes*. It has fully adopted the subtle mask of the observant and broad-minded Oriental, who surveys Western civilization with a keen and critical eye. In a word, it is Montesquieu minus the genius. It is upon these examples that he was to seize, and, while imitating them in their externalities, he was to intensify the critical spirit which animated them, and lift them into the clear realm of an impersonal intellectual lucidity destructive of all prejudice and of antiquated belief.

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REVIEWS

RENAISSANCE STUDIES

Juliette Jacquemin, *Une Princesse de Jadis: Marguerite d'Autriche*, Paris, Librairie de France, 1930.

A. Chagny et F. Girard, *Une Princesse de la Renaissance: Marguerite d'Autriche-Bourgogne*, Chambéry, M. Darmel, 1929.

En 1930 on a célébré le 400^e anniversaire de la mort de Marguerite d'Autriche; c'est à cette occasion qu'on a publié ces deux livres. Ils diffèrent beaucoup. Celui de MM. l'abbé Chagny et F. Girard est inspiré du très grand ouvrage de Max Bruchet (*Marguerite d'Autriche, duchesse de Savoie*, Lille, 1927), si plein de renseignements précis et de documentation; le livre de Mlle Jacquemin est, au contraire, assez loin d'être une œuvre d'érudition; c'est un travail de vulgarisation aimable, mêlé de poésies et de dessins; ces poésies ont été inspirées à Mlle Jacquemin par les pèlerinages qu'elle a faits dans les villes, dans les châteaux, dans les monastères et dans les églises où Marguerite a passé. M. Chagny est un savant lyonnais, et M. Girard un homme de goût, qui s'est installé à Bourg-en-Bresse; ils ont voulu donner quelques précisions au touriste qui visite cette église de Brou où Marguerite d'Autriche est enterrée avec son mari et sa belle-mère; Mlle Jacquemin a voulu exprimer la dévotion qu'elle a pour Marguerite. C'est assez dire qu'on trouvera dans *Une Princesse de Jadis* plus de détails pittoresques, de souvenirs mélancoliques, de phrases qui traduisent l'admiration, la pitié, le culte, — phrases entrecoupées de points de suspension, terminées par des points d'exclamation — que de vérité historique.

Marguerite d'Autriche vivait à l'époque de grands politiques, Henri VIII, François Ier, Charles Quint, Jules II, Léon X, si justement célèbre. On a étudié longtemps le rôle diplomatique de Marguerite dans un siècle où l'influence des femmes a été très grande, et on cite facilement cette fameuse paix des dames en 1529, négociée par Marguerite d'Autriche, représentant les intérêts de son neveu, Charles Quint, et par Louise de Savoie et sa fille, Marguerite de Navarre, qui défendaient la cause de François Ier. Ce qu'on sait moins, c'est le rôle de Marguerite d'Autriche dans le mouvement de pré-Renaissance au début du XVI^e siècle. Marguerite d'Autriche, à la cour de Malines, en effet, s'entourait de poètes, de peintres. Le poète Jean Lemaire de Belges fut à son service pendant plusieurs années, et en particulier, de 1507 à 1512, en qualité d'*indiciaire*; il succédait à son parent, Jean Molinet. Il n'est pas besoin de redire l'influence de Jean Lemaire sur Marot, sur Rabelais, sur Ronsard, d'insister sur le caractère d'humaniste qu'on trouve chez ce "romanisant" ni de montrer comment avec lui se fait le passage du moyen âge à cette époque de résurrection, de restauration qu'on appelle la Renaissance. Il serait peut-être utile de donner ici quelques renseignements biographiques sur Marguerite d'Autriche.

Son existence fut très troublée. Elle avait deux ans quand sa mère, Marie de Bourgogne, mourut des suites d'un accident de chasse. Mlle Jacquemin nous dit que Marie de Bourgogne est morte à Bruxelles; les documents de l'époque, pourtant, nous affirment que c'est à Bruges que Marie de Bourgogne dit adieu à son mari, à ses enfants, aux nobles de sa maison. Par le traité d'Arras en 1482, Marguerite devait épouser le futur Charles VIII, et elle arriva en France en 1483 où elle fut mariée au jeune prince, âgé de 13 ans; mais en 1491, Charles VIII prit congé de sa "cousine" de Flandre; il allait épouser Anne de Bretagne. Ce que d'ailleurs, ni Mlle Jacquemin, ni MM. Chagny et Girard n'ont peut-être bien expliqué, c'est comment le mariage¹ par procuration de Maximilien et d'Anne de Bretagne fut cassé. MM. Chagny et Girard s'étonnent que les Beaujeu aient renvoyé Marguerite, pour faire épouser Anne de Bretagne à Charles VIII, ce qui devait avoir pour conséquence la perte de l'Artois et du Comté de Bourgogne, dot de Marguerite, et l'acquisition de la Bretagne, dot d'Anne. Si on se rend compte, pourtant, que le mariage projeté entre Maximilien et Anne aurait abouti à un encerclement de la France, qui aurait été singulièrement dangereux, cet acte se défend très bien au point de vue politique. J'aurais aimé aussi voir dans les deux livres que j'examine, une explication de la façon dont Marguerite, d'abord gardée en otage, ne fut rendue à son père qu'au moment — par le traité de Senlis en 1493 — où Charles VIII se préparait à aller en Italie et essayait d'apaiser tous les ennemis du royaume qui auraient pu attaquer la France pendant l'absence du roi. Si l'on ne rapproche pas les événements les uns des autres, ils perdent souvent leur valeur ou leur sens. Puis Maximilien voulut marier sons fils, Philippe le Beau, à Jeanne, plus tard surnommée la Folle, et sa fille, Marguerite, à Don Juan.

Après la mort de Don Juan, prince de 20 ans, au bout de six mois de mariage, Marguerite resta en otage en Espagne qu'elle ne quittera qu'à l'automne de 1499 — et non en 1498 comme le dit Mlle Jacquemin — et elle se hâtera de rentrer en Flandre pour être marraine de son neveu, le futur Charles Quint, né le 24 février 1500. Marguerite devait être mariée encore une fois, et c'est le duc de Savoie, Philibert le Beau, qu'elle épousa. Mlle Jacquemin dit que Marguerite et Philibert le Beau furent unis le 4 décembre 1501 "suivant quelques historiens, le 3 suivant d'autres." En fait, Marguerite et Philibert furent mariés dans la nuit du 3 au 4, et l'évêque de Maurienne célébra la messe à minuit. Philibert le Beau mourut en 1504, le frère de Marguerite, Philippe, en 1506; Marguerite fut alors nommée tutrice des enfants de Philippe, et gouvernante des Pays Bas de 1507 à sa mort en 1530.

Mlle Jacquemin parle ensuite de "l'album poétique de Marguerite d'Autriche." Elle semble ignorer qu'il existe à la Bibliothèque Royale de Bruxelles, trois manuscrits, Nos. 10572, 228, 11239, publiés par Gachet en 1849, à Bruxelles, avec d'autres poèmes, comme le *Complainte que fit la fille unique de Maximilien empereur, depuis son doloieux trépas*, dont il existe à la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, deux manuscrits, l'un No. II, 119, ff. 132-133; l'autre No. 14864-65, ff. 17-19, dans les *Chroniques* de Nicaise Ladam.

¹ Le mariage par procuration a été approuvé par les États de Bretagne, le 16 décembre, 1490, et non le 14, comme le dit M. Chagny. Les dates que donnent MM. Chagny et Girard sont assez peu exactes: Marguerite est née le 10 janvier 1480, non le 14; Marie de Bourgogne est morte le 27 mars 1482, non le 25.

Le recueil dont parle Mlle Jacquemin semble être le ms. No. 228 qui commence, en effet, par les mots: "Ave, sanctissima Maria . . ."; mais le morceau que cite Mlle Jacquemin provient du ms. 10572, f. 21 vo.; ajouterai-je que le morceau est mal cité? Mlle Jacquemin parle de la ponctuation; dans le ms. il n'y a aucune trace de ponctuation. Il faut faire remarquer que cette chanson à trois voix se retrouve avec trois couplets au lieu de deux dans le ms. 228 avec des variantes et des additions.

C'est au recto du premier feuillet du ms. 228 qu'est représentée Marguerite d'Autriche, et c'est le verso de ce feuillet qui porte une enluminure représentant la Vierge. Quoiqu'on puisse assigner cette chanson à Marguerite puisqu'elle semble être écrite de sa main dans le ms. 10572 et porte la mention: "Chanson faite par Semadame," il est difficile d'assurer que ce soit Marguerite qui en ait été l'auteur.

Mais Mlle Jacquemin cite aussi d'autres poésies sous la mention: "vers composés par Marguerite d'Autriche." Ces poésies, ont, en effet, été éditées par Gachet, comme faisant partie des "albums" de Marguerite; mais, encore une fois, on ne sait pas exactement qui les a composés. D'autre part, Mlle Jacquemin publie des groupes de vers qui semblent appartenir à une même poésie, tandis qu'en réalité elle cite d'abord cinq vers qui appartiennent à une seule poésie, publiée par Gachet, p. 92, appartenant au ms. 228, ff. 59 vo. et 60, puis 10 vers publiés, p. 72, appartenant aux deux manuscrits 11239, f. 23 vo. et 228. Dans le ms. 228 ff. 5 vo. et 6, la chanson à quatre voix est assez différente du texte cité par Mlle Jacquemin; sous le No. II Mlle Jacquemin cite des vers publiés par Gachet, p. 78, et qui correspondent aux ff. 22 vo. et 23 du ms. 228, mais là encore, la citation est inexacte, et quatre vers sont omis. Sous le No. III, Mlle Jacquemin cite cinq vers publiés, p. 85, correspondant au ms. 228, ff. 42 vo. et 43, avec encore deux mauvaises leçons, puis 13 vers publiés, p. 84, ms. 228, 40 vo., 41, 41 vo., 42, et elle laisse de côté un vers; sous le No. IV les 12 vers cités sont les seuls qui le soient correctement, tels que les a publiés Gachet, p. 86, et tels qu'ils sont dans le ms. 228, ff. 45 vo. et 46.

Mlle Jacquemin ne peut résister au plaisir de citer des extraits de la première épître de *l'Amant vert*. On sait qu'en 1505 Marguerite eut à s'occuper de la succession de son mari, qu'elle dut aller en Allemagne auprès de son père. À l'occasion de ce voyage, Jean Lemaire écrivit cette épître célèbre où il fait exprimer à un perroquet aimé de Marguerite le regret d'être séparé de sa maîtresse. Mlle Jacquemin suppose que Jean Lemaire a exprimé ses propres sentiments. Quoi qu'il en soit, Mlle Jacquemin cite encore assez mal ces extraits, si on compare son texte à celui que P. Spaak (*Jean Lemaire de Belges*, Paris, 1926) a publié parmi les meilleures pages de Jean Lemaire. Il ne sera peut-être pas sans intérêt de mettre l'une à côté de l'autre les deux leçons.

Mlle Jacquemin écrit, suivant la leçon de J. Stecher (*Œuvres de Lemaire*, Louvain, 1885):

"Quel autre amant, quel autre serviteur
Surpassa onc ce hault bien et cet heur!
Quel autre aussi eut onc en fantaisie
Plus grand raison d'entrer en jalousie!
Quand maintefois, pour son cuer affolé
Tes deux maris je t'ai veue accoller."

Spaak écrit: "... pour *mon* cœur affoler."

Mlle Jacquemin écrit:

"Mais me plaisoit te voir tant estre aymée
De deux seigneurs de haulte renommée,
L'un fut d'Espagne et l'autre de Savoie."

Spaak écrit: "*L'infant* d'Espagne . . ."

Ici il semble que la leçon de Mlle Jacquemin soit meilleure.

Mlle Jacquemin: "Où j'ai perdu *la fleur d'août* le monde."

Spaak: "*La fleur de tout* le monde."

Mlle Jacquemin: "Est-ce desserte? Ay-je cy merry?"

Spaak donne au vers 10 syllabes avec:

"Est-ce desserte? Ai-je ceci méri?"

Mlle Jacquemin: "Fais-moi graver sur *ma haute* marbrine."

Spaak: "... sur *ma lame* marbrine", conforme à la leçon de Stecher (t. III, p. 16).

Mlle Jacquemin:

"Ces quatre vers *au moins* que j'en suis digne:
Sous ce tombel, qui est ung dur conclave
Git l'amant verd: *bélas ce noble* esclave
Dont le cueur haut, la vraie amour pure
Ne peut souffrir perdre sa dame et vivre!"

Spaak: "... *au moins* si . . .

"... *et le très noble* . . .

Dont le haut cœur de *vraie amour pure* ivre."

On voit que, dans ce dernier vers de dix syllabes, *ivre* rime avec *vivre*.

Quant à la fameuse devise de Marguerite, Mlle Jacquemin avec raison y voit quatre mots et remarque que "fort" est toujours séparé de "une" par un espace "partout où il est en relief, ou par un point lorsqu'il est en bas relief ou en peinture"; mais Mlle Jacquemin explique la devise par ces mots: "bonheur malheur très unique." Ici, il est intéressant de voir que MM. Chagny et Girard citent un vers:

"Fortune infortunait fort une"

qu'ils disent être le premier vers d'un rondeau. En tout cas, il se trouve un vers:

"Fortune fortunait fort une"

au commencement d'un rondeau publié par Gachet, p. 17, correspondant au ms. 10572, f. 12. Il semble que la meilleure interprétation soit celle que C. Grapheus exprime ainsi: "Fortuna infortunat fortiter unam."

L'érudit qui veut consulter un ouvrage sérieux et complet fera donc bien de ne pas se contenter du livre de Mlle Jacquemin et de se référer au très bel ouvrage du regretté Max Bruchet ainsi qu'aux études de Mlle Gh. de Boom qui a publié une série d'articles sur Marguerite d'Autriche, en particulier un sur une inscription en marge d'un manuscrit retrouvé récemment à la bibliothèque royale de Belgique (cf. Gh. de Boom, *Revue de Philologie et d'Histoire*, t. X, 1931, No. 1, pp. 175-179). Depuis le travail de Bruchet, rien autre n'est à signaler

sinon la note de M. Françon et Gh. de Boom sur un ms. de Riccio qui, jusque là, semblait avoir été négligé (cf. *The Modern Language Journal*, XVI, 1931, pp. 249-251).

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Marguerite Treille, *Le Conflit dramatique en France de 1823 à 1830*, Paris, Picart, 1929.

The author's aim as stated in the Preface was to reconstruct for the modern student of the Romantic period "les variantes de l'opinion et de la critique théâtrale" in France from the date of the first part of Stendhal's *Racine et Shakespeare* to the hectic battle waged around Hugo's *Hernani*.

The protracted discussions of classicists and Romanticists in the second decade of the nineteenth century have been retold many times, and in a general way they are known, at least in their substance, by every one interested in the dramatic history of that period. Miss Treille has made it her business, by searching all the available evidence in newspapers and magazines, to present a synthetic picture of this struggle which has been so fruitful in its consequences. She has reprinted extensive extracts from the articles by Magnin (of the *Globe*), the most talented promoter of the reform, and by Duvicquet (of the *Débats*), the most irreconcilable defender of the classic position. About twenty more periodicals have been made to yield whatever worth while material they contributed to the subject. In the chapters on "la Censure et le théâtre," "la Claque et le public," "Influence de Talma," she has shown how those three factors helped to impede the reform without being able to stem it permanently. That the classicists would lose out in the long run was a foregone conclusion. There was no dearth of talent among the writers for the stage, but they were gagged by the censors and shackled by antiquated traditions from which they dared not radically depart from fear of the Academy and the critics of the old school more than from fear of displeasing the public. The timid efforts they made to inject new life — local color, modern subjects, action on the stage — into the old framework of the tragedy, proved futile. It was the framework as well as the subjects and the language that needed renovation. What had pleased under different social conditions held no more appeal for the post-revolutionary, post-Napoleonic generation which, after the ruthless attacks of that iconoclast Stendhal, refused to be impressed even by Racine, Corneille or Voltaire. Talma's superb acting, his reforms of costume, decoration, declamation, made the pseudo-classic productions acceptable, but not even he could always fill the principal theatre of Paris while on the boulevards the lowly melodrama flourished. His death left tragedy without an adequate interpreter and showed the modern imitations up in all their nakedness. We can agree with the critic of the reactionary *Débats* when he writes that "Talma guidait pas à pas à la révolution théâtrale qui se prépare," and that it was neither Goethe, Shakespeare, Calderon, the *Globe* nor Stendhal who were going to bring about the change, but sheer ennui.

The chapter on the Claque is instructive and contains an interesting suggestion. It is known that Hugo scorned its services and that he counted on his

friends to applaud and cheer at the right moments for the first few performances of *Hernani*. Did he mistrust the mercenary gentlemen of the official Claque either because he thought them bribed by his literary adversaries, or because he suspected them of classic leanings? Whatever the cause of his unusual proceeding, Miss Treille thinks it quite possible that the Claque contributed materially to the hue and cry of those who wanted *Hernani* to fail. The hypothesis has much to commend itself: it would in part explain the vehemence of the outbursts of ill-will against a play which was after all not much more revolutionary than Dumas' *Henri III* had been. In part only, for we must take into consideration that *Hernani* had been blatantly advertised as the masterpiece for which every one had been waiting and which was to dethrone the venerable tragedy.

To the reviewer the least interesting chapter is the one entitled *Les Acteurs anglais à Paris*, probably because he himself has treated this subject far more completely, as Miss Treille graciously admits (pp. 80 and 110). I call attention to a slight error in this chapter. The statement that in the middle of December, 1827, the English Company gave their "pièce de clôture" is inaccurate. Their lease expired at the Italiens on December 10th; the manager Laurent refused to renew the lease at the high price he had to pay, so he moved the Company back to the Odéon where were given *Jane Shore* and the *Blue Devils* on the 22nd, *Hamlet* and *Three Weeks After Marriage* on the 27th, *Venice Preserved* and *The Sleep Walker* on the 29th. The English Company played throughout 1828 until July 25th in various theatres, but mainly at the Italiens. After a tour in the provinces they returned to Paris for July and August, 1829.¹

Miss Treille shows quite adequately the impression all those English performances made on the critics. The gap which separated classicists and Romanticists was never entirely closed, but an all-round better understanding of Shakespeare and a greater tolerance toward deviations from artificial standards was the result. The unities of time and place could be violated, the comic and the tragic could mingle without causing a ripple of excitement among the most reactionary critics: all Hugo had to do was to proclaim in his inimitable manner what every one had already accepted.

In Chapter V the author studies the influence of Shakespeare before and after 1827 in the form of translations, commentaries and critical articles.

In Chapter VI the effect of a closer acquaintance with the English dramatist is shown in the early classico-Romantic attempts of timid innovators and in the frankly Romantic plays of Dumas, Vigny and Hugo. For each of the stages of this literary revolution Miss Treille gives copious extracts from the critics. Her book will be useful to students of the Romantic period since it brings together in convenient form what is scattered in many publications not accessible in this country.

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¹ See "Calendrier des Représentations" in *Théâtre Anglais à Paris sous la Restauration*, by J. L. Borgerhoff.

Gustave Charlier, *De Ronsard à Victor Hugo. Problèmes d'histoire littéraire*, Bruxelles, Editions de la Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles, 1931, 335 pp.

"L'histoire littéraire vit de détails," said Sainte-Beuve. M. Charlier justifies the statement for his essays are significant, vivaciously pursued and well worth gathering in a volume. Here are the skeletons; I must beg the reader who would sense the charm of erudite and artistic investigation to open the book. The *Astrée* of Ronsard is identified beyond reasonable doubt with Françoise Babou de la Bourdaisière, wife of Antoine d'Estrées and mother of Gabrielle. She had six sisters and all have left their mark in the annals of gallantry. "On les appeloit de leur temps les sept péchés mortels," remarks Saint-Simon. The identification is so neatly made that one wonders, after the trick is turned, how it escaped earlier critics. A close study of biographers, genealogists and contemporary poets gave the cue. M. C. relates the gay life and tragic death of Astrée and then, discussing the reality of Ronsard's passion for her, concludes that the poet was pleading his own cause. — *La Clef de Clitandre* does not offer the same conclusive certainty but the hypothesis is quite in line with other recent investigations of the sources of Corneille's inspiration. A comparison of the speeches of Clitandre with the documents of the arrest and trial of the Maréchal de Marillac (1631) suggests a thinly veiled protest against Richelieu's tyranny and accounts for the curiously involved form of the play. — M. C.'s fairness shows nowhere more strikingly than in the two studies of *Tartuffe*. Proceeding cautiously, he weighs all available evidence, unearths new without ostentation and replies to his critics with courtesy and good humour. The *Tartuffe* of 1669, according to his belief, represents a less virulent satire and a subtler portrait than the earlier forms of the play; the three acts performed in 1664 were an unfinished comedy and *Tartuffe* was then a priest. A review of suggested models for the hypocrite ends in judicious scepticism: "*Tartuffe* est une géniale synthèse." If the farcial figure of 1664 had a living prototype "cet original est encore à trouver." — A bolder hypothesis would connect *Athalie* with the English revolution of 1668. "Son génie créateur (de Racine) se modèle constamment, et de près, sur une réalité récente, et anglaise." The psychology of Abner, barely mentioned in the Bible, owes much to the attitude of those Tories who accepted, at least provisionally, William III as monarch. Mathan is, except the name, a creation of Racine's; M. C. would find his prototype in the renegade priest, Gilbert Burnet, chaplain of William and an object of intense hatred in France.¹ The theory is ably defended and adds its mite to the search for *actualité* in seventeenth century tragedy. The failure of contemporaries to note the allusions is explained by the small esteem in which *Athalie* was held at the time of its appearance. — The eighteenth century is represented by two essays, *Voltaire à Francfort* and *Mme d'Épinay et Rousseau*. The first utilizes some unpublished letters of a bookseller, Varrentrapp, which point to an abuse of power by Frederick's agents. The second follows the advice of Montesquieu who remarked after a quarrel: "N'écoutez ni le Père de Tournemine ni moi, parlant l'un de l'autre, car nous avons cessé d'être des amis." A study of the manuscript of *Mme d'Épinay's* autobiographical novel shows many interpolations by herself,

¹ My own hypothesis would seek other contemporary allusions here. See *Leuvenische Bijdragen*, XVI, 3: *Mathan as a Jesuit*.

Diderot and Grimm, destined to counteract the impression created by Rousseau's *Confessions* of which he was reading extracts in the salons. The novel, in garbled form, was printed in 1818 under the title of *Mémoires*. An ardent English admirer of Rousseau, Mrs. Macdonald, first called attention to the discrepancies but her eager partisanship leads her into excessive eulogy and diatribe which M. C. notices with smiling irony. He tends to accept the verdict of a witty journalist: "Attendu que tout le monde ment dans cette affaire, tout le monde est déclaré innocent."—The next two essays are source studies: the first points out the source of one of Chateaubriand's sources for his American lore and notes his stylistic magic: "Même quand il semble copier, il transforme et il crée." The second gives the origin of Mérimée's *Mateo Falcone*.—Victor Hugo receives the final honors, first in the person of a friend of his youth, Saint Valry, second in an investigation of the sources and bearing of *Le Dernier Jour d'un Condamné*. If Saint Valry was a minor poet, he was an admirable friend. A member of the first *Cénacle*, he never abandoned his championship of the altar and the throne; the defection of his associates grieved him and he tried earnestly to bring them back to the fold. The story of his efforts and of his loyal friendship is here set forth. In the last and longest essay M. C. crosses swords with Edmond Biré who refused to see in Hugo's novel more than "une œuvre d'art et de fantaisie." The existence of a strong movement in the first quarter of the century for the abolition of capital punishment is easily proved. With some of the resulting literature Hugo was certainly familiar and traces remain in his story. More significant as a direct source are the *Mémoires de Vidocq* in which he found a wealth of criminal slang as well as picturesque scenes. The poet's own visit to Bicêtre at the time of beginning the novel left lasting memories in his mind. The book appears to M. C. as marking the inception of the humanitarian urge in Hugo. A minute examination of the manuscript reveals his methods of composition which changed but little as he grew older. — The essays reveal a variety of approach to literary problems which young scholars may study with profit, yet all are written with a wider public in view. M. C. never forgets that the unpardonable sin in France is to be tiresome, even in a Benedictine.

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Camille Soula, *La Poésie et la Pensée de Stéphane Mallarmé. UN COUP DE DÉS*, H. Champion, Paris, 1931.

M. Camille Soula is well-known to students of Mallarmé for his attempts to interpret the thought of the poet. He has been more than commonly successful in the past. One might censure him for disregarding the labors of other exegetes in the same problem. But that is a sin common to all the brotherhood. Each imprisons the poet inside his own spiritual blockhouse and proclaims himself his one true prophet. And meanwhile the spirit of the poet, like an *ignis fatuus*, glimmers elsewhere. M. Soula knows this better than anybody else. Yet he writes as if by some mystic transmutation, the secret of the poet had passed on to him alone. His present study is dated Créteil, August, 1918. It was published in 1931. In the interval there have appeared not only the works of Thibaudet (monumental, this one), Royère and others, but what is more essen-

tial for the full appreciation of *UN COUP DE DÉS*, Dr. Bonniot has published the draft of *Igitur*. M. Soula writes as if he were blissfully ignorant of such contributions, or, what is more likely, he contemptuously ignores them. I do not say that he misinterprets Mallarmé. No one could. But no one can claim to have possession of the absolute interpretation either.

In the present instance, his exegesis is somewhat at variance with those of Thibaudet and Royère. This is quite natural, and my point does not lie in that. In his autobiographical letter to Verlaine in 1885, Mallarmé speaking of the Book on which he was at work, and to which he had made references in his letters to Aubanel as early as 1866, says that it was to be "l'explication orphique de la Terre, qui est le seul devoir du poète et le jeu littéraire par excellence." Twenty years earlier he had ecstatically dedicated his life to it. But now he was content if he could finish "un fragment d'exécuté à en faire scintiller par une place l'authenticité glorieuse." Mallarmé was preparing to publish *UN COUP DE DÉS* in 1898 when he died. In the intervening thirteen years he had finally abandoned his dream of writing the great Book. The great hope had become the great deception. M. Soula declares that *UN COUP DE DÉS* is the "fragment d'exécuté" spoken of in the letter above. But a simple comparison of the poem with the fourth act in *Igitur* would have convinced him that we have here two entirely different conceptions, both as regards substance and form. "Le Coup de Dés" in *Igitur* is, in fact, the antithesis of the present poem. It is the act that annuls fate, "le Hasard." It is the absolute creation, poem or human thought, that circumscribes infinity. For almost the whole span of his life Mallarmé had been dominated by this idea. It had been his perpetual torment to create a book that should be the essence of what is absolute. He came to see, however, that this quest could end in frustration only, for even the work of art must be something relative to life, and can be, in fact, only an image of it. For by relation to it dream is far purer. Mallarmé came to doubt the possibility of ever attaining an absolute ideal. This became the "horreur du sol où le plumage est pris" in which his genius was as if buried alive. He was saved from complete silence by the realization that every pure act, thought or poem, by its very manifestation, confirms an absolute ideal and justifies it. "Toute Pensée émet un Coup de Dés."

UN COUP DE DÉS differs besides from the original sketch in *Igitur* by its syntactic innovations. It is the final flower of all of Mallarmé's lifelong speculations on poetry, music, the theater and the dance. In it are synthesized in a kind of Wagnerian drama in which the ballet also would play its part: poetry, music, the stage and dance. Typographically, the poet arranges his words as an orchestra leader his musicians around his soloist, a ballet-master his troupe about his première danseuse, a stage manager his minor players about his star. They all play, sing, dance around the central idea. The poem must address itself to the mind, to the ear and to the eye. M. Soula declares, however, that the typographical novelty of the poem is casual, and almost imposed upon Mallarmé by the technique of printing. "Il ne faut donc pas exagérer la profondeur de l'intention dans ce résultat esthétique." And yet it is in this "résultat esthétique" that lies the primary originality of the poem. For as far as the

idea is concerned it is neither startling nor new. Nietzsche expresses it in *Also Sprach Zarathustra*.

M. Soula's analysis of the poem aims to bring out that it is chiefly an exposition of the virtue of numbers, symbol of human thought, in a continuous universe, in the presence of cosmic determinism. Such virtue cannot save the pilot and his ship in a stormy sea. Even if its mathematical properties could decipher infinity, the secret would not be divulged to us, because we cannot control the power of numbers. Hence our thoughts are at the mercy of the laws of chance. They are "des nombres sans vertu." There is nothing wrong with this exegesis so far as its conclusion is concerned. But it turns into a metaphysical and abstract tract a poem latent with the very throb of life. It deprives it of its esthetic originality and significance.

Some of his comments on the poem are, besides, paradoxical, to say the least. "Il est indiscutable que Stéphane Mallarmé n'a nullement voulu traiter *un sujet* même philosophique et très abstrait comme la théorie du nombre," he declares. His exegesis seems to want to prove the contrary, however. The work, he assures us, "ne vise à avoir aucun sens précis," and he couples it with "la poésie populaire et enfantine." Because neither poetry obeys the elephantine tread of external logic, it does not follow that they are alike. A child's nursery rhyme is devoid of transcendental significance. To compare Mallarmé's poetry to it is to go precisely from the childish to the sublime. Now there is a relation where these two qualities coincide. And that is, as M. Soula himself justly points out, in the Dionysiac stage. But while it is true that the Dionysiac is the natural and normal condition of a child, it is not the only attitude of the poet. Mallarmé's poetry is as much Apollonian as Dionysiac in spirit. It is, indeed, a fusion of the two states and specially so in *UN COUP DE DÉS*.

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Dr. Claude Testu, *Essai psycho-pathologique sur Villiers de l'Isle-Adam*, Paris, Jauve & Cie, 1931.

Everyone is acquainted with the practice in French medical schools of requiring candidates for the diploma to present a dissertation correlated to their studies. Of late the tendency has been for the hopeful savants to turn to literature for their last scientific test. They dig the edge of their freshly sharpened medical scalpels into the brains of harmless geniuses, and preferably of those labelled "poètes maudits." Only as no creature, however "abnormal," would submit to such torture in his lifetime, it is upon the dead poet that the diagnosis is made, or upon his spirit. After reading a number of these medical reports, I have come to know the method. It is simple. The student picks out a few awe-inspiring medical terms from his class textbooks. They are to serve as headings of his report. Then using his scalpel as a book cutter, a few especially telling passages are cut out from here and there in the works of the patient, and they are pinned under the above headings. A few commentaries link the several clippings. There is no fee. The poet is then classified under an appropriate psychopathological case. Take, for example, this poor Villiers de l'Isle-Adam. The diagnosis reveals that even at the age of ten there was a preponderance in him of

"la pensée autiste sur la pensée réaliste." He later shows "la tendance aux récits imaginaires," nay "la tendance mystique." He was in practical life "tout à fait décevant"; "il se monte la tête à lui-même." A few anecdotes, if necessary, will confirm this terrible medical bulletin, except one told in the *Goncourt Journal*, according to which Villiers served as a mannequin to an alienist, because, observes the diagnostician, "la probité scientifique d'un confrère est mise en cause." Delightful integrity in a scientist! A few passages from *Ève future*, *Axël*, *Contes Cruels*, and the medico-literary verdict is ready. Villiers's "cerebral ataxia" is the same as the "désarmonie intra-psychique" of Urstein, and the "pensée schizophrène" of Bleuler. All of which means that he was a "schizoïde," a "hypoesthésié," a "paranoïaque," a "mythomane." But enough. I am not condemning Dr. Testu's particular thesis, because, as such works go, it is not the worst. Dr. Testu loves Villiers in fact. But so false is this genre of literature that it distorts his love. It is as if to explain the beauty of a flower one were to analyse the chemical properties of its aroma. And you have neither flower nor aroma left. Villiers's idealism, or Baudelaire's, or Nerval's, is not explained, nor the poet himself revealed, by laying his books upon a surgeon's dissecting table. Candidates for the practice of medicine would be better advised, I believe, if they were to devote to the study of anatomy or physiology the time wasted on the psycho-pathological analysis of the works of poets. They would then commit less literary crimes in the good name of medicine.

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Alfred Bonnardot, *The Mirror of the Parisian Bibliophile*. . . . Translated and Edited by Theodore Wesley Koch, Chicago, 1931, XXX + 145 pp.

Le Miroir du Bibliophile Parisien, où se voyent au vray le Naturel, les Ruses, et les Joyeulz Esbattements des Fureteurs de Vieilz Livres, was printed in 1848 at 160 copies, of which only one hundred were offered for sale. Mr. Koch has now made this rare treatise for bibliophiles available in English, with an excellent introduction. Spanish and Catalan translations had previously appeared, and some curiosity has been aroused about the rather vague figure of its author, Alfred Bonnardot (1808?-1888?) about whom the biographical dictionaries are singularly silent. He was an early devotee of the Cult of the Limited Edition: of his *Joseph le rigoriste, facétie philosophique* (1848) and his *La Chasse de Saint Cormoran, esquisse de mœurs populaires au 16^e siècle* (1848) only 70 copies were printed; and the edition of his *Voyage à l'Île de Vazivoir* (1848) was limited to 50 copies, of which 25 were on colored paper. His *Le Portrait de l'Iconophile parisien peinct au vif* (1853), his *Fantaisies multicolores* (1859) or his *Études sur Gilles Corrozet et sur deux anciens ouvrages relatifs à l'histoire de Paris* (1848) are equally rare. Of his earliest novel, *Perruque et noblesse, fatalité en trois parties*, he ventured to print 500 copies, but he soon repented: "One hundred and forty copies were distributed to friends and to several lending libraries; the remainder were burned by the author, who planned to rewrite the story entirely and to publish it in 1850 under a new title." The revised novel seems not to have appeared.

The Mirror of the Parisian Bibliophile is a slight satirical story that might have furnished an episode to Anatole France. Its slender plot—a suitor obtains the hand of a book-collector's daughter as a reward for his newly-acquired prowess in unearthing the unique copy of the *Chronique piteuze des coculz célèbres ès Païs de France et autres Lieuz*,—is but a frame around the picture of a bibliomaniac, whose unworldliness can well compare with that of Silvestre Bonnard. As a jealous hunter of first editions, minutely informed of the more esoteric "points" of an old print or a morocco binding, he knew all too well the anxieties and the triumphs of the auction room, and the revelations of book-discoveries on the *quais* or in dusty attics. With all the covetousness of an ardent collector, he adores from afar, with an exclusive passion, the unique, and unobtainable, copy of the *Chronique piteuze*,—and he finds final happiness in exchanging it for the hand of his daughter. There must have been some self-caricature in this burlesque of the bibliomaniac by one whose ardor for limited editions amounted to idolatry.

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Denis Diderot, *Correspondance inédite, publiée d'après les manuscrits originaux, avec des introductions et des notes* par André Babelon, Paris, Librairie Gallimard, 1931, 2 vols., 319 and 337 pp.

André Billy, *Diderot*, Paris, Editions de France, 1932, 603 pp. Biblio. sommaire.

The personality of Diderot is slowly emerging from the shadows of the past, and to no one are we more indebted for this resuscitation than to M. André Babelon. We owe to him the first complete and accurate edition of Diderot's correspondence with Sophie Volland, but the continuation of his exhumations in two volumes of letters addressed to members of Diderot's family, to Grimm, Mme D'Epinay and other friends is even more important, for these letters have never before been published in any form whatever. Like the Volland correspondence these new epistles are taken from the family archives of the Baron LeVasseur, the provenance of which collection was described in our notice of M. Babelon's earlier publication.

It would be difficult to indicate within the limits of a short review the richness and importance of this newly uncovered *gisement* of manuscript letters. There are eighty letters to Grimm from 1759 to 1780; to Mme D'Epinay only twenty-two over a period of sixteen years; to Damilaville, the *gobe-mouche* of philosophy, fifty-six, many of only a few lines; three addressed to Sedaine and four to Nageon. But it is in his letters to his fiancée, to his family and to the Carouillon that the biographical material is most abundant and interesting.

The temptation to utilize in a biography this new material is great, and M. Billy has wasted no time in seizing the opportunity. M. Billy is a well-known novelist, yet, as he claims in his preface, he has not fictionized the life of Diderot: "Je n'ai pas romancé la vie de Diderot, mais je me suis efforcé de donner à ce récit un peu de l'animation que gardent, après cent cinquante ans, la figure et la pensée du Philosophe." To this animation which the biographer has tried to infuse in his portrait we must attribute the absence, in the course of his six hundred odd pages, of all notes and quotation-signs which often leaves

the uninitiated reader in doubt as to whether it is Diderot or M. Billy who is talking. As a matter of fact M. Billy does very little of the talking; the frequent dialogues are quoted verbatim for the most part from the sources. Indeed nearly half of this long book is made up of quotations with, and mostly, without, reference to the sources. This notwithstanding the biographer has succeeded in giving the reader a good idea of what manner of man Diderot was, the dwellings he lived in, from whom they were inherited or purchased, when first built and how the gardens were layed out. The material milieu is much described; perhaps it would have been more profitable if the emphasis had been shifted to a more detailed description of the intellectual milieu. After all a philosopher's life is the history of his books. Unfortunately M. Billy's remarks on Diderot's books are rather insignificant. If it is unfair to criticize the biographer for something that he has not tried to do, there are other sins of omission which, from a strictly biographical point of view, the author may be reproached with. M. Billy mentions, it is true, the differences between the philosopher and his brother the Canon, but he makes very little out of their relations. Here was a rare chance which the author has missed. One brother represents the Church militant; the other is one of the leaders of the forces which fought the Church's power, a man emancipated and at the same time united by strong ties to his clan. It is perhaps not an exaggeration to say that more can be learned about Diderot in his conflict with his brother than by the study of any of his writings. M. Billy might have brought this out more clearly in his biography.

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Augusto Malaret, *Diccionario de Americanismos*. Second edition, extensively enlarged, San Juan, Puerto Rico, Imprenta "Venezuela," 1931, 520 pp.

Sr. Malaret's interest in lexicography dates back some twenty odd years. His first work in this field of study was his *Diccionario de provincialismos de Puerto Rico* (1917), in which were gathered, for the first time, the variations and deviations which the Spanish language has undergone in that island. Shortly after the publication of this work—Sr. Malaret tells us—he undertook the arduous and difficult task of "making the inventory of the Spanish language in America." His efforts culminated in the publication, in 1925, of the first edition of his *Diccionario de Americanismos*, a work which marks the first successful attempt ever made to collect, in one volume, the fragmentary and widely dispersed information about *americanismos* contained in numberless publications each representing some individual country of Spanish America. In form, this first edition consisted of an unbound volume of 642 single-column mimeographed pages. Only a limited number of copies were produced, and the supply soon became exhausted.

In the second edition, published last summer, the student of Spanish, and, particularly, the student of Spanish-American literature, will find a most valuable instrument. In many respects, this edition is practically a new work. We shall mention briefly some of the important features which distinguish it from the original edition:

1) In the preparation of the second edition, the author has used a large quantity of new material that has appeared in the last seven years, as well as some old material published before 1925 to which the author had not had access. Rough calculations show that the second edition contains over two thousand additional listed words. The number of expressions peculiar to the New World has also been considerably increased. Additional space for these increases is provided through the use of the double-column system on each page.

2) Access to a number of studies dealing with Spanish provincial dialects has enabled the author to omit a large number of words "que no son producto original del Nuevo-Mundo, sino del lenguaje anticuado o corriente de la nación progenitora." These omissions, as well as others which the author has seen fit to make, are discussed in the prologue to his "Fe de erratas de mi Diccionario de Americanismos" (San Juan, P. R., 1928, 101 pp.) This prologue is reproduced in the second edition of the *Diccionario*.

3) A greater emphasis is given, in the second edition, to *autoridades*, or quotations from literary works in which the various meanings of a given word are illustrated.

4) Perhaps the most interesting feature in connection with the making of the second edition is the direct aid which the author has received from scholars working in the same field. Among these may be mentioned Eusebio R. Castex, Ricardo Monner Sans, Pedro de Mugica, Miguel Luis Amunátegui Reyes, Eduardo de Huidobro, Ramón A. Laval, Gustavo Lemos R., Rodolfo Lenz, J. B. Selva, J. T. Medina, Darío Rubio, etc. The criticisms and suggestions of these scholars have been incorporated in Sr. Malaret's work.

To attempt, in these brief remarks, to point out insignificant faults in a work of such wide range as the one we are considering would be somewhat presumptuous on our part. This does not mean that errors have not crept in. Such of these as we have discovered and may yet discover, in our perusal of this most interesting volume, we shall communicate to the author directly. To those who feel similarly disposed the author opens several avenues through which their cooperation will prove most valuable.

"Esta nueva edición—says Sr. Malaret, in a note to the reader—comprende, todavía, dos errores: la copia, en su mayoría, de aquellos en que incurre el *Diccionario Manual e Ilustrado de la Lengua Española* (edición de la Real Academia, 1927), y la inclusión de voces que, aunque tenidas por americanismos, pertenecen originariamente al acervo lingüístico de Castilla o a los dialectos peninsulares. Hemos hecho, sin embargo, en cada caso las advertencias consiguientes con la intención marcada de hacer desaparecer el engaño en los futuros diccionarios.

"De grado o por fuerza—he continúe—habremos incurrido en otro yerro más grave, y es el que nos preocupa: no haber compilado a conciencia, con toda exactitud y en toda su extensión, los diversos vocabularios típicos de las distintas naciones hispanoamericanas. De la Argentina, Cuba, Chile, Ecuador y Méjico nos ha llegado valiosa y abundante crítica; nada, o casi nada, de los demás países hermanos."

What Sr. Malaret has termed *errores*, or *yerros*, in the paragraphs just quoted, does not impair the value of the *Diccionario* in its present form. He has

merely told us how his work could be improved if the material were available. The work may be incomplete, when compared with the ideal he has in mind, but we should not lose sight of the fact that the part thereof already accomplished is based upon the most recent and authoritative sources.

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Ettore Lo Gatto, *Studi di letteratura slave*, Rome, Anonima Romana Editoriale, 1931, Vol. III.

The staunchest champion of Slavic culture in Italy is unquestionably Ettore Lo Gatto. He has been a moving force in more than one phase of Italo-Slav intellectual relations in recent years as founder and co-editor of the *Rivista di letteratura slave*, founder of *L'Istituto per l'Europa orientale*, editor-in-chief of the *Collezione di scrittori stranieri* of the Naples *Casa editrice italiana*, professor of Slavic literatures and as translator and literary critic.

Volume III of his *Studi di letteratura slave* contains two lengthy essays: *Un poeta Ceco moderno—O. Brézina* and *L'Italia nelle letterature slave*. The first is a thoroughgoing exposition and interpretation of the mentality and poetry of one of the most robust of the mystic poets of our modern era; the second, which has a more intrinsic interest for us, traces the influence of Italy and Italian literature in Slavic lands from the Renaissance to the present time.

Some scattered work has been done in this comparatively virgin field; numerous studies are still necessary, however, before it will be possible to have a clear and definite conception of Italy's rôle in the culture of the Slavic countries. Though Lo Gatto's essay is pre-mature, actually, thanks to his wide knowledge of Slavic literatures and solid bibliographical preparation, the author has laid the foundations upon which others with more ample materials at hand must perforce build. There is, to be sure, a certain amount of thinness here and there, but synthetically it is an excellent piece of work outlining deftly and firmly the main trends of Italianism east of the Adriatic.

An introductory chapter establishes the fact that the Slavic peoples were just beginning to form a cultural tradition when in the countries of Western Europe it had already reached an advanced stage of development. This naturally led to the absorption of occidental cultural treasures though the epoch in which they were adopted and the extent varied. There was a moment when Italy, the repository and recreator of classical Latin culture, was the Occident for the Slavs, which, broadly speaking, covered the latter half of the fifteenth and the entire sixteenth centuries. Needless to say, the influence exerted was immense and far-reaching in its effects.

The second chapter deals with Italy in Russian literature. Unlike the plastic and graphic arts and the stage in which Italian sway was considerable, Italian letters, for a long time, left no deep marks in Russian literature. Italian writers were, of course, popularly read and admired and sometimes imitated, but there was no direct and immediate current of influence until the Romantic poets Batjuškov and Puškin, through whom Italianism became one of the characteristics of Russian Romanticism. Batjuškov, by his imitation from the Italian, not only sought to break down pseudo-classicism as Lo Gatto states, but also if we can believe Mirsky (*Pushkin*, London, 1926, 19) "his ambition was to rival

Italian in sweetness of sound and to counteract the natural harshness of Russian," a task in which he almost succeeded and which meant a great deal to his native literature. We should like to add from our own vineyard the name of a precocious polyglot, Elizabeth Kulman, not a major literary figure, but one who wrote many poems in Italian, translated some plays of Alfieri and fragments from Metastasio, and who foreshadows Puškin in his unrealized longing to see Italy. Her dream is embodied in a poem written just before she died in 1825. Though it is a bit artificial, it is a sincere, passionate desire to see the country that she loved. The beginning of the poem reads as follows:

"Italia, Italia mia!
Oh! la più bella terra
Del vasto mondo intero;
E a me (dopo la patria,
Di cui l'amore innato
Col core insieme cresce)
Cara vieppiù d'ogni altra.
Dovrò dunque morire
Senza averti veduta,
Terra ch'agli occhi miei
Ognor santa paresti? . . ."
(*Saggi Poetici*, St. Petersburg, 1839, 1)

Among others, Italy inspired and fascinated Turgenev, and Gogol whose *Dead Souls* is a modern imitation of the *Divine Comedy*. During the realistic period fascination for Italy wanes; neither Italy nor the Italians seem to have had much influence upon the geniuses of Dostojevsky and of Tolstoy. But with the decadent and symbolistic period Italianism begins anew, showing itself in almost all the writers of the school including Blok, Brjusov, Balmont, Merežkovskij, etc.

By virtue of its conversion to Roman Catholicism (cf. Chap. III), Poland had absorbed the elements of Latin culture much earlier than other Slavic groups, and gradually allowed these elements to predominate over the Slavic. The greatest name in the history of the Polish Renaissance is that of an Italian: Filippo Callimaco Bonaccorsi (1437-96), who was for many years secretary to the Polish king. Direct Italian influence is evident in Nicola Rey, the first Polish poet who wrote in his mother tongue, in Jan Kochanowski, Szarzynski, Grabowiecki and others. Of great importance was Górnicki's *Dworzanin*, an excellent adaptation of Castiglione's *Cortegiano*. In the next century Peter Kochanowki translated Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*, which soon came to be considered as one of the most outstanding works in Polish literature. Strongly influenced by the Italians was that elegant poet Andrew Morsztyn who translated Tasso's *Aminta* and Marino's *Psyche*. Italianism was offset by French influence in the eighteenth century but had a vigorous revival during the age of Romanticism. Dante whose influence had been of a minor character, now becomes the profound inspirer of the best poets of the day. There is much of the spirit and imitation of Dante in Słowacki's great poem, *Król-Duch* (*The King Spirit*). *The Divine Comedy* served as a model for Krasiński's famous drama *Nieboska Komedja* (*The Undivine Comedy*). Asnyk was indebted to Dante and other Italian poets, espe-

conceived
& written
during his
sojourn in
Rome

cially Leopardi. A little later Italy proved to be a source of inspiration for the great poetess Konopnicka.

Italian influence began in Czecho-Slovakia (cf. Chap. IV) as elsewhere during the Renaissance, but was soon broken by the political and spiritual servitude that came upon this region with the serious defeat of White Hill in 1620. The only exception is the operatic stage. At the opening of the nineteenth century the tendencies that prevailed during the national re-awakening were against foreign influences. Jan Kollár is indebted somewhat to Petrarch and to Dante, but is one of the few who were attracted to Italian letters. In the second half of the century we find Italy playing a large part in the works of Vrchlický who translated into Czech numerous Italian poets including Dante, Petrarch, Ariosto, Tasso and Parini. Unmentioned by Lo Gatto but highly interesting from the Italian point of view is the fact that this author's library of 8,000 volumes now in the Vrchlický Museum contains one of the most complete collections of early editions of Dante's works. Other poets either influenced or inspired by Italy in this period are the pre-Raphaelite Zeyer, Mokřý and Heyduk.

Among the southern Slavs, (cf. Chap. V), the flourishing literature of the school of Ragusa reflected for three centuries one phase or another of the literary tendencies in vogue in Italy. It appears at its best in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in Italianate writers such as Zoranić, Vetranić and Gundulić. This portion of the chapter has now been superseded by a recent study of J. Torbarina, *Italian Influence on the Poets of the Ragusan Republic*, London, 1931. Italian imitation continues during the Illyrian period and later, but is not extensive. Serbia has hardly had an echo of Italy or the Italian muse, but, on the other hand, the young literature of Bulgaria in the persons of its greatest poets Vazov, Slavejkov, Veličkov, etc., has frequently turned to Italy for inspiration.¹

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Le Haut Livre du Graal, Perlesvaus, ed. by William A. Nitze and T. Atkinson Jenkins, vol. I, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1932.

The last few years have seen several notable contributions to Arthurian scholarship: Vinaver's *Malory*, Faral's *Légende Arthurienne*, Gardner's *Arthurian Legend in Italian Literature*, Griscom's edition of the *Historia Regum Britanniae*, Van Dam's critical survey of recent Tristram scholarship in *Neophilologus*, Cross and Nitze's *Lancelot and Guenevere*. Now from the University of Chicago we have this admirable edition of the *Perlesvaus*, containing a description of the MSS, the text, a list of proper names with all variants, a glossary of the less familiar words, and a careful collation with the Welsh translation. It is noteworthy that though the chief credit goes to the two editors, the book is a successful example of cooperative scholarship.

¹ Add to the bibliography cited by Lo Gatto the following list: D. Ciampoli, "Leopardi in russo," *Lettere ed arte*, I, 15, 1889; A. Amfiteatroff, "Goldoni e la commedia russa," *Rivista d'Italia*, XXXI, 6; F. Nunziante, "Gli italiani in Russia durante il secolo XVIII," *Nuova antologia*, CCLXVI, 187-210; S. Di Frisco, *Una fonte italiana di Eugenio Onieghin*, Palermo, 1930; L. Léger, "Le Cortegiano de B. Castiglione et le courtisan polonais de Lucas Górnicki," *Journal des savants*, N. S., II, 3.

There is for the present reviewer at least no question of the literary quality of the text, nor of its fascination as we pass suddenly from the mysteries of romance to the mysticism of the cloister, from secular to spiritual adventures. In this new edition which follows faithfully the Oxford text, with the variant readings below, it is to be hoped that new readers will be won for the *Haut Livre du Graal*. There can be no question of the competence of the editors and their collaborators to give us an accurate rendering of the original manuscripts, and in reading their diplomatic edition it is only necessary to bear in mind that O, though a superior text, is not infallible and sometimes should be corrected by other readings: for example, in 1.2339, *orillier* certainly makes less sense than *orlé*, and in 1. 5922, *la tor*, "tower," should probably be *le tor*, "bull," which immediately follows it in the same manuscript.¹

A few details seem to call for criticism. One might have hoped that the glossary would cover not only the O text but also the more important variant readings. The translations of *tonel* on p. 22 as "casket," does not agree with the translation on p. 459, "cask, tun," which is of course right. Incidentally, it may be noted that *tonel* is probably the author's mistake for *torele*, since its characteristic features are anticipated by the "turrim vitream" of Nennius. The folio numbering may produce confusion since it is 4 less than that of the MS.

A second volume is promised containing a study of the romance in its historic and literary connections. On a few points the present volume seems to anticipate the second in footnotes and remarks. These cause some disquietude since we should expect to find only the most assured interpretations chosen for insertion in a book which avoids controversy and does not even decide between the variant readings. Some of the anticipations which we do find are of the most questionable kind. A footnote on p. 20 calls attention to Miss Weston's identification of Brien des Isles with Brian de Insula, rather than to Bran dus des Isles of the *Vulgate Lancelot*. A footnote on p. 18 and a statement on p. 415 connect the name Gurgaran with a hypothetical Welsh word *gurguol*, with the hypothetical meaning "werwolf," apparently on the hypothesis that because Gurgaran had his son's body boiled and eaten, he was connected with lycanthropy. On p. 22 the fancy of Heinzel's that the knight in the glass keg was Joseph of Arimathea is dignified by mention, though there is no evidence for its support. The scholars of the University of Chicago have an opportunity to produce in the second volume a critical discussion of a Grail text more complete and more sound than any yet published. One hopes that more critical standards of judgment than those which led to the selection of three of the least plausible suggestions ever made regarding *Perlesvaus* for insertion in this first volume will prevail in the second. In the meantime we may well be grateful for what is probably the best edited text we yet possess of the Arthurian cycle.

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¹I believe, however, that the original tradition was that of the *cor* (horn) of Bran. Cf. my article in *Studies in Romance Languages and Literatures presented to L. E. Kastner*, pp. 346-47, Cambridge, 1932.

BELGIAN LITERATURE: CHARLES DE COSTER

Joseph Hanse, *Charles De Coster*, Bruxelles, Renaissance du Livre, 1928, 386 pp.

On Aug. 20, 1927, Belgium celebrated the centennial of the birth of its first great modern novelist, Charles De Coster. Many studies treating various aspects of his life and work were published and rich expositions were held at the Bibliothèque Royale at Brussels and at the Bibliothèque Principale at Antwerp.¹ The most comprehensive of the monographs is the above work of M. Hanse. Begun in 1923, crowned by the Academy in 1927, the final redaction takes account of all documents brought to light up to 1928. It is the one essential study of De Coster and merits a detailed analysis. In a biographical sketch M. H., omitting picturesque but insignificant incidents, seeks to define "l'âme, le caractère, les goûts intellectuels" of his author. A belated Romanticist, haunted by the spell of the mediaeval and of the 16th century, cultivating the melancholy of the French Romanticists and the humanitarianism of George Sand, sharing their hearty contempt for the bourgeois, De Coster sought his friends among the artists. He went through life in a dream, always striving to shun the reality which wounded his sensibilities. Desperately poor, his own misery taught him sympathy for the suffering humble. Recognition came only after his death. "Les Jeune Belgique" of 1880 hailed him as their master and since 1893 editions of his masterpiece have multiplied. In 1927 M. Abel Lefranc summoned France to accord him his proper place in the Pantheon of literature.²

De Coster lived intensely in his dream world and a considerable number of his fugitive youthful writings have been preserved. M. H. has examined these with the same purpose as he studied the life of the author: to trace artistic and intellectual development. Quoted extracts of verse lead to the conclusion: "De Coster n'était point poète, sinon dans sa façon de vivre, ou quand il écrivait en prose." His first masterpiece, *Légendes Flamandes* (1858) is fully analyzed both as to subject matter and style. "Elles évoquent le moyen âge, ces Légendes, et elles sont ravissantes de pure simplicité. Les quatre contes forment une sorte d'anthologie du bon vieux temps . . ." De Coster doubtless added much of his own invention to these legends but there is room for further investigation of his exact sources.³ The section on the archaic style of the *Légendes* is excellent

¹ Cf. *Catalogue de l'Exposition organisée à la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, Edité par la Revue *Archives et Bibliothèques de Belgique*, 1927; *Charles De Coster, Bibliographie, 1827-1927*, Uitgave Stedelijke Hoofdbibliotheek, Antwerpen, 1927, 2 fascicules, préparés par M. Willy Koninckx.

² *La Revue Franco-Belge*, mai, 1927.

³ In regard to the first legend, *Les Frères de la Bonne Trogne*, De Coster writes to Elisa of a critic who had said: "Elle est très jolie, cette légende, mais elle n'est pas de lui; il l'a prise dans un vieux livre. Entre nous, a-t-il ajouté." De Coster continues: "Le prochain feuillet me laisse la latitude de dire ouvertement que dans l'intérêt de la légende elle-même, j'ai cru pouvoir la traduire en français du moyen âge, y ajouter des épisodes et dessiner plus nettement les personnages. J'envoie demain au bureau du journal le petit livre d'où la légende est tirée. Elle y est en français et en mauvais latin. Le français est moderne et la légende en elle-même est bête." (*Lettres à Elisa*, No. 101.) Where is this little book? No critic gives any hint.—For the second legend, *Blanche, Claire et Candide*, M. H. remarks: "Le sujet en est emprunté à un vieux texte latin relatif à la construction de l'église de Haeckendover, près de Tirlemont . . . De Coster a suivi de fort près le récit traditionnel; il lui emprunte maints détails relatifs à la construction même de l'église." And in a note he refers to *Brabantisch Sagenboek*, published in 1911 by A. de Cock et Is. Teirlinck.—For the third, *Sire Halewyn*, we have a Flemish ballad

throughout: minute observation of the language of the 16th century has enabled De Coster to create an effective medium for local color in presenting his legendary lore.

The *Contes Brabançons* (1861) are in modern French and interesting chiefly as revelations, through symbols and allegories, of the author's personality and outlook on life. "Vanité, ambition, orgueil, tristes chimères que les hommes poursuivent: il n'y a pour moi qu'une vérité en trois mots: Justice, bonté, amour," says one of the personages.

M. H. is well advised in passing rapidly over the other works of De Coster—he believes however that *Le Voyage de Noce* (1872) deserves more attention than it usually receives—to come to the masterpiece, *La Légende d'Uylenspiegel* (Dec. 1867). When was this work begun? The point is of some interest because of certain source problems. Was it about 1860⁴ when De Coster was appointed a member of the *Commission Royale pour la publication des anciennes lois*? M. H. has unearthed reasons for believing that the date must be pushed back several years. In the journal *Uylenspiegel* (July, 1856) De Coster says of a painting by his friend Dillens, *Femmes Espagnoles*, that he sees "un poème dans l'idée du tableau." The subject is drawn from the invasion of the Low Countries by the Duke of Alva, and De Coster's interpretation suggests certain scenes of his own work. The picture may well have been "le point de départ de la légende." In Feb., 1859, *Uylenspiegel* published a short sketch by De Coster, *Comment Uylenspiegel fut peintre*, which, with slight modifications, appears in the novel. In December of that year the same journal announced, doubtless prematurely, the book as in press.

M. H. argues brilliantly, against the views of eminent critics, for the unity of the novel. He finds: "Unité dans les caractères, annoncés dès le début et maintenus tels qu'ils apparurent d'abord. Unité dans les sentiments, d'une constante partialité. Unité dans la pensée centrale et la construction même." And he accepts the author's own statement of his purpose: "Avant tout, ce livre est un livre joyeux, bonhomme, artistique, littéraire, dont l'histoire n'est que le cadre." The work is an amazing welding of history and legend from which there emerges an unforgettable, if partial, tableau of the 16th century in Flanders.

As to sources, the theories of Hamélius,⁵ who saw much German influence,

published by Willems in 1848. Ch. Potvin reprints as an appendix to *Lettres à Elisa* the French translation. In 1857 De Coster wrote to Elisa that the subject was "inédit," and he declared his intention of translating it into French. He has added much. M. H. remarks: "De Coster fait œuvre nouvelle. Cinquante pages précèdent la scène directement inspirée du chant populaire. Il recrée les personnages; du tableau il fait un drame . . . Les courts paragraphes de la ballade sont repris dans le texte de Ch. De Coster, mais le récit est délayé; à chacun des couplets primitifs correspondent plusieurs pages. Enfin, De Coster emprunte à son modèle le procédé archaïque des répétitions et celui des descriptions par demandes et réponses."—For the fourth, *Smetse Smeer*, M. H. declares that "la matière est empruntée à la tradition populaire et aux récits flamands" and he gives a summary of "le fond primitif," but he does not indicate any printed source.

⁴ Cf. M. Gauchez, *Histoire des lettres belges*, p. 185.—H. Liebrecht thinks that "c'est sans doute vers 1859 qu'eut lieu sa première rencontre avec le héros populaire" (*La vie et le rêve de Charles De Coster*, p. 38).

⁵ *La Belgique Artistique et Littéraire*, août, 1908.

notably of Goethe and Schiller, had met general approval. M. H. differs sharply, finding no need of looking across the Rhine for De Coster's inspiration. The escapades of the hero in many countries have been published in many tongues, and Flanders has its full share. "Ce qui le charmait (De Coster) en *Uylenspiegel*, c'était son esprit d'aventures." Much is due to oral tradition and to the author's observation. Among printed sources Van Paemel's *Het aerdig leven van Thyl Uylenspiegel* is most important for the first part of the novel. Borrowings and innovations are noted in detail. Tyl's companion, Lamme Goedzak, was suggested by a series of popular prints published at Turnhout in the 18th century.⁶ The unforgettable story of Lamme's wife gives De Coster a chance to indulge his anticlerical passion, for he identifies her with a penitent of the debauched monk, Cornélis Adriansen, whose machinations are told in a 16th century pamphlet and in Van Meteren's *Chronicle*. This immediately introduces another group of sources as Van Meteren was the chief guide of De Coster for the historical part of the story. His use of the *Chronicle* and, more briefly, of other historians, notably John L. Motley's *La Révolution des Pays-Bas au XVIe Siècle* (translated in 1859-1860) receives full treatment. M. H. concludes: "De Coster voulait faire une œuvre flamande. Il a puisé à toutes les sources de son sol." The penetrating section on *La Psychologie des Personnages* serves to correct any impression of lack of originality in De Coster which the minute study of his sources may have suggested.

The following sections deal with the patriotism of De Coster, who desired a fraternal alliance with Holland while preserving in its entirety Belgian independence, with the use of the supernatural in the novel, with the pantheistic philosophy of the author and with his style. The epic form of the legend, its archaic language and the influence of painters are presented with convincing illustration. The final chapter traces the influence of De Coster on subsequent literature. This is most marked among the dramatists, yet novelists and poets have also come under his spell. *Uylenspiegel* appears as the chief landmark in the revival of Belgian letters. An annex offers a critical study of the text and the *Addenda* notice the most recent contributions to the subject. There is a bibliography of the editions and translations of De Coster's works.

I hope this long review will justify what I have said elsewhere: "Ce livre est indispensable à qui veut connaître à fond l'auteur d'*Uylenspiegel*."

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SOME NEW POLISH BOOKS

Pawlowski, *Francja (France)*, Atlas, Lwów, 1931.

Mittman, *Pod Ręką Fatmy (Under the Hand of Fatima)*, Atlas, Lwów, 1931.

Baraszczeński, *Na ciemnych wodach Paragwaju (On the Dark Waters of Paraguay)*, Atlas, Lwów, 1931.

Lepecki, *Na Amazonce i we wschodnim Peru (On the Amazon and in Eastern Peru)*, Atlas, Lwów, 1931.

⁶ Cf. E. Van Heurck et G. J. Boekenoogen, *Histoire de l'imagerie populaire flamande and Le Folklore Brabançon, août-octobre, 1927*. I reviewed the latter in *American Journal of Folklore*, Jan.-Mar., 1931.

That intense interest in Romance civilization which has always characterized the Poles is again manifested in these four books.

Pawlowski's *Francja* is a careful description of France, its geography and its resources, with many valuable statistical tables. French development of water power strikes this observer as remarkable.

Mittman's *Pod Reka Fatmy* is an impressionistic and sympathetic account of a trip through Algeria. His descriptions of the Sahara are masterful.

The well-known fact that Polish expansionists envisage Latin America as a potential field for Polish colonization accounts for the enormous interest Poles are today manifesting in descriptions of and stories concerning Latin America. Baszczewski and Lepecki provide in these two accounts of the peoples and the countryside of Paraguay and Peru, respectively, abundant first-hand material to satisfy Polish curiosity.

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ITALIAN LITERARY QUARTERLY

The Goethe centenary celebration throughout Europe met with a propitious moment in Italy where new publications on the German genius appeared and old ones were resuscitated to recall their existence to the Italian public. Goethe's Latinity and proclivity for Italian culture draws him close to the Italian intellectual. We were, indeed, glad to note that the ever active *Italia Letteraria* devoted a whole issue to the study of the man and his influence in the Italian peninsula. The April 12th issue of this weekly was replete with biographical outlines, and contained, among other contributions, Papini's "Accenni su Goethe," Sibilla Aleramo's "Goethe e la donna," Enrico Rocca's "Il teatro italiano e Goethe," and G. Titta Rosa's "Viaggio in Italia." We noted also the posthumous publication of Prof. Emilio Teza's version of *Faust*, and a *Life of Goethe* by Lavinia Mazzucchetti, composed in the popular vein.

Before beginning our discussion of recent publications we should like to call to mind the series, *Tutte le opere* (*Complete Works*) of Antonio Fogazzaro, launched in December by the publishers Mondadori of Milan. The collection will be assembled in handsome editions with photographs and facsimiles. Piero Nardi's critical and biographical study, *Antonio Fogazzaro*, will serve as introduction to the collection; and Tommaso Gallarati-Scotti's selected letters, *Lettere scelte di A. Fogazzaro*, are destined to serve as postlude. The first volume of the work proper promised by the publishers will be *Piccolo mondo antico*.

FICTION. Enrico Cavacchioli who, a few seasons back, along with Luigi Chiarelli, Rosso di San Secondo, etc., concentrated his efforts on the "Grotesque Theatre," put out his second novel in *Serenata celeste* (Ceschina; Milan). With a theme developed on a canvass of atmosphere and realism, the novel falls short of being a serious piece of work. It calls to mind Alberto Moravia's *Gli indifferenti*, though without the forcefulness and poignancy that make Moravia's novel one of the best contributed in the past decade. The principal objection that the reviewer voices relative to *Serenata celeste* is that the author has failed to exploit to advantage the atmosphere and realism couching the first episodes of the novel. Instead he has, knowingly or not, injected an overdose of melo-

drama. It seems that every situation possible has been thought up and squeezed into the story, which, if composed along a simpler structure, would have merited a better fate. A mother, a daughter, a libertine lover, a romantic musician are the principals revolved about a series of extravagant episodes. And, speaking of extravaganza, a sketch of the novel as well as its auto-condemnation is to be found in the following extract (p. 88):

"Già. Sei un vecchio animale romantico, al quale un ronzio di chitarra dà, ancora, un senso di nostalgia. Il convento, la musica, l'odore d'incenso, le monachelle prigioniere, il funerale notturno in una chiesa deserta, la presunta resurrezione di una morta . . . I fumi ti sono saliti al cervello come quelli del primo bicchiere di champagne per un astémio. Sei sotto la pressione di una sbornia sentimentale, più cattiva di quella che viene dal vino generoso. A furia d'immaginazione, hai creato tutti gli attributi poetici necessari che ti occurevano. Sono sicuro, che se tu la vedessi davvero, proveresti una disillusione del cinquanta per cento"

Bianca Gerin, little known among the Italian women writers, has, indeed, made an excellent contribution of short stories in *Aprire la porta* (Ceschina; Milan). At most the stories are conceived on provincial themes. No exclusion is made, however, to a note of gentility and humanity which emanates throughout like a delicate perfume. A finely worked-in idiom adds the touch of poetry. A more splendid contribution than this will be well nigh impossible this season. We liked immensely the old and meticulous Celeste Santoli. We liked, in fact, all the old, the middle aged, the lovers, and the children that passed in review before us. May we hope for more work on this lofty scale from the author in the future? At present we desire to congratulate the house of Ceschina for its praiseworthy publications of the past, *Il pittore volante*, *Mozze*, etc. At the same time we should recommend that all possible care be taken hereafter to eliminate or minimize errors in type and print. The two books discussed above had typographical errors, too frequent, to pass unnoticed.

While we are speaking of the short story a group of twelve, *Horse in the Moon* (E. P. Dutton; New York), extracted from Luigi Pirandello's *Novelle per un anno*, have been translated masterfully from the Italian by Samuel Putnam. Let us hope that Mr. Putnam continues in the capacity of Italianist. So far his activity has been as productive as it has been successful.

THEATRE. The past season, which seemed to lack both means and enterprise to hold its own, is likely doomed to fall far below par this season, in spite of new hope injected by Premier Mussolini with his project of establishing a National Institute of Drama. In the past issues of this review we have spoken frequently of Mr. Silvio D'Amico's aspirations and propaganda for an Institute of Drama nationally subsidized. It appears now that our genial dramatic critic's efforts have not been in vain: his dream of a National Theatre is about to come true. In our next quarterly we shall speak of the plans for this Institute which the Duce has entrusted to Mr. D'Amico.

In Giovacchino Forzano's *Villafranca* (Barbèra; Florence) we have at hand a drama of merit. Making use of a historic motive, specifically that of Italy's struggle for independence in those feverish days of 1859, the author has brought into focus a trio that figured portentously in that not very remote year—Cavour,

Victor Emanuel II, and Napoleon III. To be sure this type of drama is not new to the author. In point of fact, it is in this genre that he has met with most distinction. It suffices here to say that *Villafranca* is good drama, containing red-blooded characters. It is detached from pomposity and slow movement. Plays of the like often have these pitfalls. However, good drama, in the historic mood does not mean that it follows history to the letter. The play has met with public success in its run at the Teatro Argentina in Rome.

Let it be recalled that Pirandello's *Questa sera si recita a soggetto*, a play in which the characters step off stage and assume counterparts in reality (it is, of course, the famous problem of self-identity), has been translated into English, *Tonight We Improvise* (Dutton; New York), by Samuel Putnam. For a review of this play see THE ROMANIC REVIEW, Vol. xxi, No. 3, pp. 263-265.

POETRY. The Mondadori Academy Prize for poetry was divided equally by Ugo Betti for his *Canzonette-La morte*, and Fernando Losavio for his *Canti di liberazione*. Both volumes have been gracefully gotten up by Mondadori of Milan. Betti's poems (some assembled from periodical contributions) offer a wide variety of values and emotions. Not infrequently do we find the philosophic vein followed by the conversational, the tragic by the humorous, the ultra-poetic by the narrative. Withal, the poetry is not of the complex variety, which, of course, is always a relief. Losavio, on the other hand, is more lugubrious, almost exclusively in the minor mood. It is the song of liberation (as the title suggests) from the heaviness of life and its suffering. The following four lines will serve conveniently to disclose the thematic material as well as the mood:

"Io mi son desto stamane e subito in cuore m'è nato
uno sgomento vasto per la giornata intatta,
che avevo da vivere innanzi:
ore su ore fino al tramonto, fino alla notte." (*Risveglio*)

O. A. BONTEMPO

THE CITY COLLEGE, NEW YORK

ENRICO CORRADINI

In Enrico Corradini, who died on Dec. 11, 1931, Italy lost a vigorous nationalist and polemicist. Let it be recalled that Corradini's activity in the cause of Italian nationalism found intense momentum on the eve of Italy's entry into the World War. And, if, in the past decade or so, his activity was less militant, it reached, none the less, a more mellow, a more philosophical turn. More recently, his contributions to periodicals touched varied and vital points: problems in nationalism and in the arts. In the past decade, too, Corradini revised and republished his masterpiece, *Giulio Cesare*, a historico-national drama in which the national Italian character, with all its weaknesses and all its strong points, finds identification with and is a continuation of a Caesar, a Brutus, a Cassius, and, if you will, any Roman. The Italian, personalist as he is (this constitutes at once his weakness and his strong point), has paid dearly in the light of national unity for his ultra-individualism. Corradini, cognizant of this divergent trait in the Italian character, suggested in his writings the necessity

of the fusion of all constituents toward the building of a strong national character to serve modern Italy: a Roman heritage. In this respect Corradini identified himself with the Fascist State which he served in the capacity of Senator and Minister.

Corradini was a Florentine, born in Samminiato di Montelupo, 1865. He started his career in literature proper. His early contributions in the form of novels fell somewhat under the influence of D'Annunzian formulae and contained faint echoes of the Nordic philosophers. This early activity—one of imitation and study rather than one of creation,—served as an indispensable groundwork for his vast knowledge of history, philosophy, political economy. It is within the province of the foregoing fields that Corradini met with most distinction. It is befitting to record herewith a list of his chief contributions:

Novels—*Santamaura*, 1896; *La gioia*, 1897; *La verginità*, 1898; *L'apologo delle due sorelle*, 1904; *La patria lontana*, 1910; *La guerra lontana*, 1911; *Novelle*—*Dopo la morte*, 1894; *Le sette lampade d'oro*, 1904.

Drama—*La leonessa*; Giacomo Vettori; *Giulio Cesare*, 1902, 2d ed., 1926; *Maria Salvestri*, 1907; *Carlotta Corday*, 1908; *Le vie dell'oceano*, 1913.

Varia—*La vita nazionale*, 1907; *L'ombra della vita*, 1908; *Il volere d'Italia*, 1911; *Il nazionalismo italiano*, 1913; *L'Italia e la guerra*, 1915; *La marcia dei produttori*, 1916; *Discorsi nazionali*, 1917; *Tre canti danteschi*, 1921; *L'unità e la potenza delle nazioni*, 1922; *Discorsi politici*, 1923; *Diario postbellico*, 1924; *Fascismo vita d'Italia*, 1925. (For a more detailed list see *Chi è?* and Camillo Pellizzi's *Le lettere italiane del nostro secolo*, from which the foregoing list has been extracted.)

As a postscript we may add that Corradini collaborated in and directed several political journals, such as *L'idea nazionale*, *Marzocco*, and *Il Regno*, the latter of which he founded in 1904. For two studies on the author consult: P. L. Occhini, *Enrico Corradini, Scrittore e nazionalista* (Rome, 1914), and G. Benedetti, *Enrico Corradini* (Piacenza, 1922).

O. A. BONTEMPO

THE CITY COLLEGE, NEW YORK

ROMANCE LANGUAGE CLASS-TEXTS

Spanish America in Song and Story. Selections Representing Hispano-American Letters from the Conquest to the Present Day. Arranged and Annotated by Henry A. Holmes, N. Y., Henry Holt & Co., [1932], XXXI + 578 pp.

This lengthy and attractively printed volume is the most ambitious anthology of South American letters as yet prepared for the American public. Thus far little more than the modern period of its bulky literature has been available: the "Modernista" poetry has been sympathetically studied in the now standard text book of Professor Coester; Mr. L. A. Wilkins has selected representative modern short stories, while Professor Torres-Rioseco has confined himself to outstanding prose writers of Chile. Some of the novels have been sporadically issued for class use, such as Blest Gana's study of Chilean customs in *Martin Rivas*, José Mármol's Romantic *Amalia*, and a few of Hugo Wast's involved and popular novels which can hardly take place among works of high

literature, but are nevertheless interesting for their indication of what the vast public reads.

The present work, which reviews literary achievements from the Río Grande down to the Strait of Magellan, and from the European colonization to the present day, is valuable, were it only for its comprehensiveness. The manifold literary activities of so vast a continent remain all too little known even to the students of the Spanish tongue. This volume therefore sets itself a vast goal: to cover the literatures of no less than ten countries, all of them proud of an active literary life, besides the islands of Cuba, Puerto Rico and Santo Domingo. It does so by an introductory bird's-eye view of the main currents and by showing the close bonds that link South American writing with that of Europe. Thereupon the editor takes up the countries one by one, introducing each with a brief survey of its characteristics, and then considering its principal authors chronologically under the headings of Poetry and Prose, including fiction, history, criticism and drama. The selected authors follow, each with a brief sketch on his life and works, and a short extract from his compositions, — usually one poem or a brief prose passage, or a scene from a play, although such an outstanding author as Rubén Darío is represented by four poems in order to indicate his diversity. The volume is also furnished with copious notes and explanations which substitute a vocabulary that would have lengthened the volume unduly, and which are practically indispensable for the study of countries that take pride in developing a new vocabulary as a more personal medium of expression.

The extensive survey which this book attempts is sufficient proof of the difficulties which the editor must have encountered. He has discussed some 250 authors in 13 different countries (in Argentina alone, for example, he has discussed 21 poets and 16 prose writers, making 37 authors in all), and has accomplished this task in 548 pages of an octavo volume, making it an anthology as well as a history of literature. One can surmise that the scope was perhaps too large for so small a book. We may intimate that the editor may have gained in emphasis and simplicity by treating with greater stress fewer authors, and only major ones, and by discussing the representatives of literary movements rather than mediocre individuals who may have won praise from their patriotic fellow-citizens, yet who scarcely deserve a place in world literature. The extracts from the works of the authors are necessarily too brief in many cases, and can hardly do them justice, nor can they always fix them in the mind of the reader. By a more rigorous selection, the editor might have given each one larger space. One might also have wished that the editor had been more discriminating from the artistic point of view, instead of basing himself frequently on patriotic preferences or even a traditional historic importance.

But these reservations only serve to bring out the many obstacles which the anthology compiler had to weigh, one against the other, to strike a balanced course. His task is a delicate one, requiring a ruthless weeding out of the mediocre or the valueless. Yet Professor Holmes seems to have been guided by a laudable purpose — one of promulgating the literary achievements of a young continent among the people of its sister continent of the North. He seems to aim at as great a completeness as possible, trying to omit no name that has estab-

lished itself as a "literary glory," or any that shows real "promise" for the near future. He has made it essentially a *working* anthology, tracing the evolution of the *genres* in the various countries, and adding helpful *tableaux* that show at a glance the outstanding authors, their dates, and the school to which they belong, — although here he remains frequently and unavoidably somewhat vague and insufficient. Although his individual selections, which were of need very limited, cannot please every reader who may miss his own favorites, this volume will hold an indisputable place among the textbooks and guides of South American literature for English America.

Mariano José de Larra, *Selected Essays*. Edited by C. B. Bourland, Boston, Ginn and Co., [1932], XXXVII + 225 pp.

Artículos de Larra, De Costumbres, Política y Crítica Literaria. Edited with Introduction, Notes and Vocabulary by J. H. Nunemaker, N. Y., Macmillan Co., 1932, 167 pp.

These two anthologies of the *Artículos de Costumbres* are testimonials to the persistent and ever-growing interest in the misunderstood "Figaro," and prove that his works have been definitely accepted as classics of Spanish letters. As the most lasting and representative of his productions, the editors have chosen, — not from the Larra of the single Romantic play on the legendary passion of Macías el Enamorado, nor from his single Romantic, meandering novel on the same theme of unrequited love, nor from his notoriously uninspired verse, — but from what he himself humbly termed the "mero articulista de un periódico," the realistic Larra, the witty essayist and caustic satirist, who mercilessly mocked the ridiculous elements in contemporary life, whether human foibles or social stupidities and reactionism. For these articles he borrowed his motto from the mordant Boileau: "Des sottises du monde je compose mon fiel," and he championed this mission until the end of his meager but intense twenty-six years of life. Even more than the Romantic he is famed to be, he was a knight-errant of enlightenment, combatting narrow-mindedness in all its manifestations, with a double-edged lance that smote society with its bitter head of ridicule, and yet wounded him with the hopeless ineffectuality of his struggle against decay and apathetic smugness. Though his purpose is thus unrelentingly bellicose, his *Artículos de Costumbres* do not display any vociferous abuse; they strike deeper. They restrain themselves to the sketching of apparently mild and objective pictures of contemporary life, enlivened by pretendingly innocent humor. Yet in spite of their surface naïveté, they are devastating; their impact is weighted with the accumulation of his indictments. He selects symbols for his wrath: there are the social inefficiencies, the antiquated, slow-moving "diligencia" — as slowly jolting as decrepit Spain; inns gloomy and dingy — sunless as the sad Spanish life in the midst of a sunlit Spain. Overrun with Carlist rebels led by priests preaching civil strife, plundered by a ragamuffin soldiery of hazard, bled by incapable government employees, he sees dark Spain in a nightmare of a grotesque frightfulness, — a cemetery of all its ideals. His brush strokes resemble the caricatures of a Daumier: he depicts the prospective actor who, without professional training or literary knowledge, and with a deplorable memory, intends to be the Roscius of Spain; he unmasks the presumptuous author of a single unpublished work, who has overweeningly imposed

himself as a man of letters. His well-known article, "Vuelva Vd. mañana," mocks at the eternal procrastination of the "raza."

These anthologies, moreover, contain articles illustrating Larra's literary criticism, from which one may gather his ideas on contemporary literature, and indirectly, his own literary tenets and preferences. Professor Bourland's volume, for example, reprints the highly interesting study of Moratín's *El Sí de las Niñas*, which proves that Larra the Romantic could never forget his neo-classic French training. Professor Nunemaker, on the other hand, has included the enthusiastic account of the *première* of García Gutiérrez's *El Trovador*, in which Larra openly proclaims himself an admirer of the Romantic school, and hopes that this challenge to the literary conservatives will stimulate other Romantic works as grandiose and "original."

These selections offer some of the most striking prose passages of the early nineteenth century in Spain, and describe brilliantly the life and customs of a stirring transitional epoch in Spanish history. Together with other "costumbristas" like Mesonero Romanos or Estébanez Calderón, they borrowed an initial impulse from French literary example, from Voltaire, P. L. Courier, and Jouy — although also aware of the rich tradition among predecessors of their own country, — and raised these short sketches to an artistic level, while intensifying their satiric method on transposing it to Spanish soil.

Spanish Wit and Humor. Edited by D. Rubio and H. C. Néel, Illustrations by F. Marco, New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1932 xiii + 196 pp.

This unpedantic anthology of Spanish humor may well claim as its motto: "Learn while you laugh." From five-line anecdotes, it ranges in length and difficulty to whole episodes from the satirical masterpieces of Spanish literature. *Don Quijote*, for example, is represented by the *Cuento del Rebusno*, the *Cuento de Cabras*, — that tale that never ends, so naïvely recounted by the simple-minded Sancho, — and by that of the Madman of Seville, who is thought entirely sane until he solemnly calls himself the god Neptune. *Lazarillo de Tormes* also contributes three renowned incidents: that of the grape-eating contest, that of Lazarillo's beating at the hands of his miserly master, the cleric, who mistakes his whistling for the hissing of a snake; and finally, that of the guileless youth's meeting with a funeral procession, which — trailing towards the "casa lóbrega y oscura, a la casa triste y desdichada, a la casa donde nunca comen ni beben," — makes him tremble with fear lest they deposit the corpse in the dismal mansion of his impoverished noble master, since it also answers to this lamentable description of the House of Death. Quevedo's *Historia de la Vida del Buscón* furnishes several humorous incidents, as "What happened to a Poet with his Cook," while Tirso de Molina's subtle tale, *El Muerto Vivo*, the little dramatic masterpiece of Lope de Rueda, *El Paso de las Aceitunas*, and extracts from Timoneda's *El Sobremesa y Alivio de Caminantes*, contribute to make the volume a diversified and valuable selection from the satirical humorists of Spain's Golden Age. The language is necessarily somewhat archaic, but with a few slight indications of the instructor, this should not be a drawback to the student who has been trained in the freer and less encumbered modern con-

structions. It offers the advantage of introducing him first to the classics with the easier and more interesting sections.

Yet it is not entirely composed of selections from the earlier periods; it also contains passages from Padre Isla to recent nineteenth century authors. Many are folktales still recited today, like the *Cuentos Aragoneses*, with their sly peasant humor, and others from Fernán Caballero's gleanings. In fact, the whole collection is largely popular in tone, whether we consider the simple anecdotes or the episodes from the masterpieces. The whole attractive volume shows how vital the current of humor and satire has remained all through Spanish literature, in spite of the legend that has come to becloud it as predominantly somber and tragic.

Nicolás González Ruiz and E. Allison Peers, *Six Tales from Calderón*, New York, Henry Holt and Co., [1931], xi + 92 + xxxix pp.

The spirited days of cloak-muffled cavaliers, of plume-sweeping bows, of fair ladies coquetting behind their grated balconies, — made the stage of the *Siglo de Oro* a magic fairy land. On it there arabesqued in a dark Romantic moonlight, a confusion of heroic gallants and pining lovers, — and of witty, ingenious ladies, who set them a merry pace with their incognitos and whims, sure as they were that their bewitching wiles would win for them the noble of their choice whenever their fancy should decree. Whenever the main stress of the dramatist thus fell on a Lopian plot, — fixed in its rules, — he was allowed only a deviation of intricacy (that of multiplying the love-pairs and of interweaving the complex pawn-game of the couples). It is, then, not astonishing that the plays of the Golden Age lend themselves so readily to being retold in an animated and lively prose. The *comedias* of Calderón, for instance, tend to an exaggeration of these complexities, and the lucid *exposé* of their outline makes this little volume a parallel to Lamb's *Tales from Shakespeare*, but taken from Calderón's major works. The stories are filled with lively, picturesque conversations, and with quaint archaic overtones which transpose them skillfully into an illusory-historic past.

Only in the more advanced stages of his study can the American student enjoy the scintillation of these gems of the most dazzling Spanish literary treasure-troves. These simple narratives, in an easy-flowing style, cannot help but arouse interest and stimulate eagerness for a promising perusal of the original plays. The student will, if he is at all acquainted with the masterpieces, compare *El Mágico Prodigioso* with *Faust*. In *La Vida es Sueño* he will feel the tragic intensity with which Calderón confronted philosophy and religion with human destiny. *Guárdate del Agua Mansa* and *La Dama Duende* will introduce him to the glittering *comedia de capa y espada*, that unique, indigenous heritage of the Spanish Golden Age to European literature. *El Príncipe Constante* will bring out the lofty fanaticism of the national hero and the exaltation of the Country and the Cross at a time when the Faithful and the Infidel were disputing the realm of the Lord. Finally, *La Púrpura de la Rosa* will introduce him to the fanciful mythological play which enjoyed such a vogue among the social élite of the magnificent courts of Europe, ever since Italy had set the fashion.

Yet the booklet has a further aim than familiarizing the student as early as possible with world literature; it is "above all a text which aims at teaching the Spanish language through an acceptable medium." The exercises offer an interesting variety and range from word-formation and exercises in grammatical usage, to self-expression. The book is a novel one, and should meet with success both because of the value of its text and the competent pedagogical devices with which it is equipped.

BARBARA MATULKA

WASHINGTON SQUARE COLLEGE,
NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

FACULTY NOTES

BENNINGTON COLLEGE, BENNINGTON, VT. Jean W. Guiton, who has spent the last year teaching at the French School of Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vt., has been appointed Instructor in French.

BROWN UNIVERSITY, PROVIDENCE, R. I. Dr. Albert J. Farmer, Prof. in the Univ. of Grenoble and during 1931-32 Visiting Prof. of French at Brown University, has been reappointed for a second year, 1932-33, as Visiting Prof. of French. Mr. Edmund L. Loughnan, who has previously served in the Dept. as Instructor in French and who has been spending the present year in study in Europe, will return in September, 1932, as Asst. Prof. of French. Mr. Robert H. Williams, Instructor in Spanish, 1930-31, and now on leave of absence, will return in September as Asst. Prof. of Spanish. Mr. Williams has held a fellowship during the current year from the American Council of Learned Societies and has been working on his *Bibliography of the Spanish Novel* in the libraries of Europe. Mr. N. J. Tremblay, Instructor, has received his Ph.D. and has been appointed to teach French in the Univ. of Arizona. Mr. Homero Arjona, Sharpe Fellow in 1930-31, has been granted his Ph.D. and will join the staff of the Connecticut State College as Instructor in Spanish.

BUCKNELL UNIVERSITY, LEWISBURG, PA. Miss Florence Hall will return to her duties as Instructor in French.

COLGATE UNIVERSITY, HAMILTON, N. Y. Frederick M. Jones, Prof. of French, has returned from a year of study in France. William J. Everts has been granted a leave of absence for the coming year which he will spend in Paris working on his dissertation for the doctorate from Columbia University. Harold L. Clapp has resigned as Instructor in order to continue his work for the Ph.D. degree at the Univ. of Wisconsin. Charles A. Choquette will return after an absence of two years.

COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK. Dr. S. A. Rhodes, who received a fellowship from the Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, has returned; his latest study, *An Unknown Work of S. Mallarmé: La Dernière Mode. With an Introduction*, is in press and will be completed shortly. Prof. V. L. Dedek-Héry, whose volume, *The Life of Saint Alexis*, has been very well received, is spending the summer in France. Dr. Bernard Levy, author of *The Unpublished Plays of Carolet: A New Chapter on the Théâtre de la Foire*, is in Europe and will return in September.

EMORY UNIVERSITY, GA. Prof. Charles R. Hart will spend the summer in England, Scotland and Brittany. Asst. Prof. Strausbaugh is conducting a tour to Europe. Mr. Brock is devoting his time this summer to graduate work at the Univ. of North Carolina.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY, CAMBRIDGE, MASS. Mr. P. H. Harris, who spent last year in research work in the Guicciardini Archives, has been added to the staff.

HAVERFORD COLLEGE, HAVERFORD, PA. Dr. J. McFadden Carpenter, Jr., Assoc. Prof. of Romance Languages, died January 2, 1932. Dr. René Taupin, Instructor in French in Columbia University, has been appointed Asst. Prof. of French beginning September, 1932.

MIAMI UNIVERSITY, OXFORD, O. Leon P. Irvin, Acting Head, has been advanced to the Head of the Dept. of Romanic Languages. Laurence H. Skinner has been promoted from Asst. Prof. to Assoc. Professor. Asst. Prof. Glenn Barr will return from graduate study at the Univ. of Chicago. Howard L. Chace, graduate assistant, has been made Instructor.

MIDLAND COLLEGE, FREMONT, NEB. Mr. Ralph L. Hankey has been appointed Chairman of the Foreign Language Division.

MOUNT HOLYOKE COLLEGE, SOUTH HADLEY, MASS. Assoc. Prof. Helen E. Patch will return in September, 1932, after a year's leave of absence. Asst. Prof. Bourgoin will also return after a year of sabbatical leave spent in study in Paris. Asst. Prof. Paul Saintonge has been promoted to the rank of Assoc. Professor. Miss Florence Whyte, Instructor in Spanish, will spend the summer months in research work in Spain. Miss Elizabeth S. Doane, Instructor in Italian, will study in Rome this summer. Miss Edith K. Cumings, Instructor in French, will transfer in September, 1932, to an instructorship in French at Lake Erie College. Miss Lena L. Mandell, Instructor in French, will return to Bryn Mawr next year to continue her work for the doctorate.

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY. E. Allison Peers, Prof. in the University of Liverpool, was Visiting Prof. of Spanish literature during part of the spring session of 1932.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY, PRINCETON, N. J. C. C. Marden, Emery L. Ford Prof. of Spanish, died May 11, 1932. F. Baldensperger, Pyne Visiting Prof. of French Literature, has returned to the Sorbonne. R. W. Elliot, Instructor in French, has been made Asst. Prof. in St. John's College. J. G. Roberts, Instructor in French, has been engaged by Harvard University as part-time assistant.

STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA, IOWA CITY. Prof. Stephen H. Bush is spending the summer in Paris. Prof. Erwin K. Mapes has sailed for South America and will devote his time to research work. Mr. James Babcock, Instructor in Romance Languages, will study in France and Spain during the coming year. Miss Lucile Delano, Instructor, has been awarded a scholarship by the American Association of University Women for the year 1932-33 and will be engaged in study in France and Spain. Dr. Kenneth Brooks, of Birmingham, England, has been appointed as Assistant in Romance Languages. Prof. Raymond Brugère will return from France to resume his duties.

UNIVERSITY OF BUFFALO, N. Y. Prof. B. Faÿ, of the Collège de France, — will conduct during the fall term of the academic year 1932 a seminar for graduate students in the Departments of French and History. His subject will be: "Intellectual problems of the eighteenth century, taking France as the center." Prof. Faÿ will also give, in French, advanced undergraduate courses and lectures on: "The masters of French contemporary prose" and "Literary life in contemporary life," and a weekly public lecture in English on "French civilization." Similar work will be given from year to year on the same foundation.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY. *Dept. of French*: Prof. Daniel Mornet, of the Sorbonne, is a member of the departmental staff during the 1932 summer session. *Dept. of Spanish and Portuguese*: Prof. E. C. Hills died April 21, 1932. Dr. A. Torres-Rioseco, Assoc. Prof. of Latin-American Literature, has been awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship for the year 1932-33 and will spend the year in South America. Dr. L. B. Simpson, Asst. Prof. of Spanish, will return after spending the year in Mexico City where he has been working in the archives on a Guggenheim Fellowship. *Dept. of Italian*: The University of California Library recently purchased the second half of the Trevisani Library, of Naples (the first half was bought two years ago), consisting of about two thousand volumes, some very rare, many dealing with Italian literature.

UNIVERSITY OF CHATTANOOGA, TENN. Prof. E. K. Kline has resigned in order to become Head of the Dept. of Modern Languages in Brothers College, Drew University. Miss Lucy A. Neblett, Instructor in Spanish, has been appointed Instructor in Romance Languages at Stetson University during the coming year.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, ILL. Daniel Mornet, Prof. at the Sorbonne, was Visiting Professor during the spring session. Prof. Nitze passed from a summer quarter at Berkeley to the M. H. Pyne Visiting Professorship in French Literature at Princeton for the autumn semester. Volume I of *Perlesvaus* by Prof. Nitze and Mr. Jenkins has just appeared, as has the third volume of Prof. Dargan's *Studies in Balzac's Realism*.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA, PHILADELPHIA. The *Hispanic Review*, a quarterly journal devoted to research in the Hispanic languages and literatures, and sponsored by the Spanish sections of the Modern Language Association, will be published on January 1, 1933. The Editor will be J. P. Wickersham Crawford of the Univ. of Pennsylvania, assisted by M. Romera-Navarro and Otis H. Green of the same institution, and the Associate Editors will be Milton A. Buchanan, Alfred Coester, J. D. M. Ford, Joseph E. Gillet, H. C. Heaton, Hayward Keniston, Rudolph Schevill, Antonio G. Solalinde, F. Courtney Tarr and Charles P. Wagner. Edwin B. Williams will be Business Manager.

VASSAR COLLEGE, POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y. Margaret de Schweinitz, Assoc. Prof. of French, has been promoted to Professor. Bruno Roselli has been appointed Prof. of Italian for one year.

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY, ST. LOUIS, MO. Dr. Enzo Giachino, of the Univ. of California at Berkeley, has been engaged as Instructor in Romance languages.

WHEATON COLLEGE, NORTON, MASS. The Dept. for the coming year will be composed of the following: Agnes R. Riddell, Ph.D., Prof. and Head of the Dept.; Marguerite Metivier, A.M., Assoc. Prof. of French; Anne Harrington, A.M., Asst. Prof. of Spanish; Helen R. Parker, A.M., Asst. Prof. of French; Marie R. Buchler, A.M., Asst. Prof. of French; Lily Durrleman, Instructor in French; Virginia M. Moss, A.M., Instructor in Spanish. Elma D. Littlefield, A.M., has been granted a second year's leave of absence to act as Directress of the Delaware Group in Paris during 1932-33.

CAROLINE MATULKA

NEW YORK CITY

IN MEMORIAM: CHARLES CARROLL MARDEN

Dr. Charles Carroll Marden, Ford Professor of Spanish at Princeton University and President of the Modern Language Association of America, died at Princeton, N. J., on May 11 in the 65th year of his age.

The news of the passing of this great figure from the field of Spanish studies, at the very height of his intellectual power and achievement, plunged all of his friends and colleagues into the deepest grief. At no time in his splendid academic career were his presence, his friendly counsel, and the noble example of his staunch adherence to the highest standards of scholarship more greatly needed than now. With his death, we fear, a great period of Spanish research in America — an all too brief *siglo de oro* — will be hastened to its end.

Dr. Marden was born at Baltimore on Dec. 21, 1867, the son of Jesse and Anna Maria Brice Marden. He began his studies at Johns Hopkins University at the time when that institution was entering upon its career of glory, — when it had already established the high standards that other universities were ultimately led to emulate. The revered A. Marshall Elliott was directing the Department of Romance Languages and had gathered about him a group of enthusiastic young scholars who were, thereafter, destined to uphold the ideals of scholarship in all parts of the United States and to give to it what it needed most — a definite form and character.

After having received his A.B. degree from Johns Hopkins in 1889, Dr. Marden began his academic career as Instructor in Modern Languages in Norfolk (Va.) Academy (1889-90), and as Instructor in French in the University of Michigan (1890-91). Returning to his Alma Mater for further graduate study, he was awarded the Ph.D. degree in 1894 on his dissertation entitled *Phonology of the Spanish Dialect of Mexico City* (Baltimore, 1896). During the following twenty-three years he was a member of the Faculty of Johns Hopkins, serving from 1894 to 1900 as Instructor, Associate, and Associate Professor of Romance Languages, as Associate Professor of Spanish from 1900 to 1905, and as Professor of Spanish from 1905 to 1917. During the latter academic year he taught at both Johns Hopkins and Princeton Universities — dividing his time each week between them—for in 1916 he had accepted an invitation to the chair of Spanish at Princeton, which he occupied until the time of his death. Between 1909 and 1928 he served as Professor of Spanish

seven times in the Summer Sessions of the University of Chicago, twice at the University of California (Berkeley and Los Angeles), and once at Columbia University; and in 1928 he held the post of Carnegie Visiting Professor to the Universities of Spain.

That Dr. Marden's work was highly esteemed in Spain is established by the fact that he was appointed Corresponding Member of the Royal Spanish Academy and Knight Commander of the Order of Isabel la Católica. He was also Managing Editor of *Modern Language Notes* from 1911 to 1915; chief examiner in Spanish for the College Entrance Examination Board, 1922-24; Member of the Executive Council and Editorial Committee of the Modern Language Association of America, 1924-26; Fellow of the Mediaeval Academy of America; and a member of the Hispanic Society of America and of the Phi Beta Kappa Society.

His scholarly publications include, besides numerous contributions to philological journals, *A Bibliography of American Spanish* (1911; 2d ed., 1926); *A First Spanish Grammar* (with F. C. Tarr, 1926); and editions of the *Poema de Fernan Gonzalez* (1904), the *Libro de Apolonio* (I, 1917; II, 1922); *Cuatro Poemas de Berceo* (1928); Berceo, *Veintiún Milagros de Nuestra Señora* (1929); and his last study to be published during his lifetime, a detailed, penetrating, and sympathetic review of Alfonso el Sabio's *General Estoria*, edited by A. G. Solalinde, which appeared in *Modern Language Notes* (1932, pp. 36-50).

"In 1925," says the *New York Times* of May 12, in a long obituary, "Professor Marden discovered in a second-hand book shop in Madrid a 14th century manuscript copy of the works of Gonzalo de Berceo, the earliest poet who wrote in Castilian whose name is known with certainty."

On Dec. 2, 1897, Dr. Marden married Miss Mary Talbott Clark of Ellicott City, Md., who with four children—John Clark Marden, of Philadelphia, Charles Carroll Marden, Jr., of Trenton, N. J., Nicholas Brice Marden and Mrs. Arthur H. Dean, of New York—survive him.

The very amiable personality and sterling character of this true devotee of scholarship will ever be a cherished memory of his many friends, colleagues and admirers.

J. L. G.

WASHINGTON BICENTENNIAL NOTES

THAT GEORGE WASHINGTON had as one of his forbears a French Huguenot is, according to Prof. A. B. Hart, the biographer of Washington, the most important discovery yet contributed to the Bicentennial. However, Geo. M. Block states, in the *New York Times* of April 14, that this fact has been known for many years and that he has in his library "any number of genealogical records and books" which establish it beyond question. Accordingly, the following inscription has been placed on a building in Yorktown, Va.: "Site of the home of Nicholas Martiau, the adventurous Huguenot, who was born in France, 1591, came to Virginia, 1620, and died in Yorktown, 1657. The original patentee for Yorktown and through the marriage of his daughter Elizabeth to Colonel George Reade, he became the earliest American ancestor of General George Washington." The inscription further relates that Martiau was a captain in the Indian uprising, a member of the House of Burgesses, justice of the

county of York, and a leader in expelling Gov. Harvey, which was the first opposition to the British colonial policy. But it is interesting to note that, notwithstanding his Huguenot ancestry, Washington, according to Prof. Hart, "never learned French, never went overseas and had very little knowledge of foreign or international relations."—THE AUTHORITIES of the Huguenot Memorial Church, which was erected on Staten Island, N. Y., as the National Monument of the Huguenot Walloon Tercentenary, have now installed therein the bust of Washington along with those of the following Presidents who also had Huguenot blood in their veins: Tyler, Garfield, Roosevelt and Taft. Likewise Jay, Boudinot, Henry Laurens, Paul Revere, Richard Dana, Longfellow, Whittier, Freneau, Thoreau, Maury, LeConte, Vassar, Girard, Gallaudet and "thousands of other American pioneers and intellectual leaders of the same descent," according to the *New York Times*, "are remembered in that church."—IN EUROPE, the French Government, which had coöperated with the University of Paris in an elaborate ceremony of Feb. 22, had a medal struck commemorating the Bicentennial, while the Italian Government inaugurated a course of six lectures on Washington, given at the University of Perugia from July 4 on by Foreign Minister Grandi, Count Volpi, Senator Schanzer and others.

J. L. G.

VARIA

EDUCATIONAL AND BIBLIOGRAPHIC—TWO DISTINGUISHED PROFESSORS retired from active teaching last June: George McLean Harper of Princeton University, who began his academic career in 1889 as an instructor in French and Italian at Princeton; and Oliver M. Johnston, executive head of the Department of Romance Languages at Stanford University. Prof. Johnston, who is the author of *Historical Syntax of Atonic Personal Pronouns in Italian* (1898) and *French Grammar* (1926), has been a frequent contributor to the *ROMANIC REVIEW*. Our readers are looking forward to additional interesting contributions from his pen.—PROFESSOR JEFFERSON B. FLETCHER, of Columbia University, was decorated, on April 21, with the rank of Commander of the Crown of Italy, in honor of his splendid translation of Dante. Prof. Fletcher was also awarded the LL.D. degree, and Irving Babbitt, Professor of French Literature at Harvard, the L.H.D. degree at the Commencement exercises of Bowdoin College, on June 23. Dr. Henry G. Bayer, Professor of French at New York University, was made on June 23 a Knight of the Order of Leopold by the Belgian Government. Dr. Bayer has been a frequent contributor to the *ROMANIC REVIEW*. Dr. Mabel S. Douglass, Dean of the New Jersey College for Women, was made Officier d'Académie by the French Government on June 25.—NOBILÉ GIACOMO DE MARTINO, Italian Ambassador, was awarded on June 15 the LL.D. degree by the Catholic University of America, "for distinguished services to both nations." "In particular by his nobility of character," his citation said, "he has won universal esteem."—LAFAYETTE COLLEGE, in celebration of its 100th anniversary, awarded on May 17 honorary degrees to Professors Charles Cestre and Félix Gaiffe of the University of Paris, and to Jacques Gréber, architect of Paris.—THE INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION, in coöperation with the College Art Association, announced on May 1 the award to

American students of 25 scholarships for study at the Summer Session of the Institute of Art and Archaeology of the University of Paris. These scholarships were made possible by a special grant of the Carnegie Corporation.—THE INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION, in coöperation with the Office National des Universités et Ecoles Françaises, announced on May 16 the award of 19 fellowships to American students for study in France in 1932-33. These fellowships were established by the French Ministry of Public Instruction and the Universities of France in appreciation of those offered to French students by American Colleges and Universities. At the same time announcement was made of the award of six American Field Service Fellowships, each carrying a stipend of \$1,400 a year. These fellowships were founded as a memorial to the Field Service men who died in France during the World War. Finally, 18 American students received appointments as teachers in French lycées and écoles normales.—THE FEDERATION OF MODERN LANGUAGE TEACHERS, after a study of the question, have decided that command of a foreign language is not a "prime vocational asset." They list only six fields of work as open to adepts in languages, *viz.*, the American foreign service, service with a foreign government, interpreting, foreign newspaper work, translating, work as tutor or governess. "More cheering," says the *New York Times* of June 22, "is the committee's listing of 12 lines, from foreign trade to foreign missions where 'spare' languages are a distinct advantage; and 42 more, from archaeology to radio announcing, when another language is an asset."—FRANCE leads all European countries in the number of American students enrolled in its educational institutions, according to the Institute of International Education. The statistics for 1932 follow: France, 3,223; Great Britain, 692; Germany, 366; Italy, 275; Switzerland, 252 (of whom 139 studied medicine); and Austria, 196 (of whom 154 studied medicine).—IN AN ARTICLE entitled "Is Classroom French Worth the Effort?", published recently in *The Parents' Magazine*, Simone France upholds instruction of the spoken language. Thos. J. McCormack, however, presents very forcible arguments in behalf of the study of literature in a splendid address on "Some Reflections on the Learning of Modern Foreign Languages," given before the University of Illinois High School Conference, Nov. 20, 1931. Copies of this address, which should be read by all teachers, may be secured from the author at La Salle, Ill.—THE CUBAN SUPREME COURT decided on April 26 that the closing of Havana University and suspension of faculty salaries by Presidential decree on July 1, 1931, was unconstitutional. At the time of closing the faculty consisted of 107 professors, 102 assistants, 137 instructors, and 5,083 students.—A RECENT SURVEY made by the Canadian Government of the 1,110 libraries of that country, revealed that they contained, altogether, 9,428,858 volumes, pamphlets, etc. The two largest libraries are those of McGill University, which has 411,000 volumes, and of the Parliament of Canada, in Ottawa, which has 400,000.—THE FOLGER SHAKESPEARE LIBRARY, erected in Washington, D. C., by the late H. C. Folger, was dedicated on April 23. It was completed at a cost of \$2,000,000 and has an endowment fund of \$10,000,000. The *New York Times* of April 17 says: "Notable for early editions, it includes writings by and concerning Shakespeare, and other materials associated with him and his times to the number of more than 100,000 articles and pieces." On the same day the Horace Howard Furness Memorial was dedi-

cated at the University of Pennsylvania. It contains about 12,000 volumes, 8,000 of which are strictly Shakespearian.—THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION donated on May 20 the sum of \$2,300,000 to the Bodleian Library at Oxford University for the purpose of defraying three-fifths of the cost of construction of a modern building capable of holding 5,000,000 books and containing special research rooms. As the Library is empowered under a law of 1835 to receive a copy of every book published in the United Kingdom, additions to it total about 22,000 volumes a year, exclusive of pamphlets. The Library was founded in 1602 by Sir Thomas Bodley (1545-1613), then a teacher of Greek at Oxford, who in early life had been a student at Calvin's Geneva Academy.—THE LIBRARY of the University of Valencia in Spain was destroyed by fire on May 12. It contained more than 60,000 volumes and hundreds of old manuscripts from convents and monasteries.—HARVARD UNIVERSITY acquired recently a copy of the rare "Book of Troy," by Guido delle Colonne, printed at Augsburg about 1478 by Gunther Zainer. The book is a folio of 157 leaves, containing 12 ornamented initials and 101 wood-cut illustrations, rubricated in red and blue. The Harvard copy is of the third version, of which the only other recorded copy is in the State Library in Dresden. Only two complete copies of the first version are known, two perfect copies of the second, and one imperfect copy of the fourth.—THE A. CHESTER BEATTY COLLECTION, valued at £ 200,000, was sold in part in London June 7. Some of the prices paid were: £ 5,000 for a collection, including a Book of Hours, remarkable for its delicacy, and 148 miniatures made for Admiral Prigent de Ocetivy of France about 1440; £ 2,900 for a Book of Hours from Northern France in the early 14th century, which was one of John Ruskin's most treasured possessions; and £ 2,800 for a Book of Hours with miniatures ascribed to Fouquet. Mr. Beatty was born in New York in 1875 and was graduated from the Columbia School of Mines in 1898. His collection, made during the past 15 years, consists principally of illuminated Oriental MSS.—A 15TH CENTURY FRENCH MANUSCRIPT Book of Hours, in Latin, with 57 miniatures, brought \$1,000 at a sale in New York on May 11. Five of Horace Walpole's "lost" letters to Mme du Deffand were sold at the same time for \$295.—THREE VOLUMES, containing a French translation of the voyages of Sir Alexander Mackenzie across Canada and bearing the inscription, "Napoleon's Copy from St. Helena," as well as the stamp of the Imperial eagle, were presented on May 18 to the Canadian archives in Ottawa by Bernard Heald of Sussex, England. Mrs. Heald, who died recently, was the last member of the Mackenzie family.—PREMIER MUSSOLINI approved on April 8 the expenditure of 70,000,000 lire for the construction of a new University of Rome. It is believed that 15 years will be required to build the new university, which will be located in the suburbs of Rome, near the Policlinico, the city's largest hospital.—REPRESENTATIVES of all Spanish universities held a conference at Madrid on June 20 with regard to measures for restricting the number of graduates for the professions, which were said to be greatly overcrowded.—SPAIN granted, on May 27, autonomy to Catalonia. The statute allocates to the State Government the right to use the Catalan language and to direct Catalonia's educational system.—THE SPANISH NATION'S COPY of the first edition of *Don Quixote* has been placed in a vault of the Bank of Spain in order that it may be protected against any future political change.—FORMER PREMIER JORGA, of Rumania,

was rewarded on May 20 by the Albanian Government with a site for a villa for having compiled several years ago a grammar of the Albanian language.—A COMPILATION of the 131 Nobel prizes awarded since their creation to individuals in 18 countries, reveals that Germany ranks first with 31.5 prizes, France second, with 19; England third, with 15.5; and the United States fourth, with 12. Switzerland ranks eighth with 5.5 prizes; Italy and Belgium eleventh with 3.5 each; and Spain fifteenth with 2. Mme Marie Curie is the only individual who has won more than one of the awards. In 1903 she shared the physics award with her husband and H. A. Becquerel, and in 1909 she won the chemistry prize in her own right.—THE NEW BELGIAN LANGUAGE LAW, to which attention was called in our last issue (p. 193), is giving army officers and government officials no end of trouble, since they must all be bilingual. Furthermore, Flemish professors appear to be very severe in their examinations. And now the peaceful life of the Ambassadors is being threatened, because of the fear that they may come under the new law.—A NEW EXPLANATION of the term *Huguenot* was offered recently by Pastor L. de Saint André, in the *Journal de l'Eglise réformée de Tours*. "En 1551," he says, "pour éviter d'attirer sur eux l'attention des persécuteurs les membres de notre paroisse se réunissaient en secret dans une vieille tour, bâtie par Hugues, comte de Tours, au temps de Charlemagne . . . Hugues, fort grand pécheur, hantait cette tour, dont tous s'écartaient: terreur des ombres qui s'y glissent, puis du murmure des psaumes dans la nuit. Puis un grand éclat de rire; ce ne sont pas des revenants, mais des protestants, dignes amis de ce mauvais diable de Hugues—des *huguenots*! De ce surnom, pas méchant, ces hommes ont fait un drapeau!"

NECROLOGY—DR. PAGET TOYNBEE, who was often called "the last of the great British Dantists," died at Burnham, England, on May 15 at the age of 77. He was a son of Joseph Toynbee, F. R. S., and brother of Arnold Toynbee, a pioneer of the social settlement movement in England. He was born at Wimbledon and educated at Oxford. From 1878 to 1892 he served as a private tutor. In 1894 he married Miss Helen Wrigley, who died in 1910. In 1912 he completed the *Lettres de Mme du Deffand à Horace Walpole*, which she had edited, and between 1919 and 1925 his three-volume supplement appeared. One of his earliest works was a revision of Brachet's *Historical French Grammar*. His works on Dante exceed a score, among which are *Critical Text of the Divina Commedia*; *Life of Dante*, and *Dante in English Literature from Chaucer to Cary*, in which he listed every reference to Dante discoverable in English. He was a gold medallist of the British Academy, a Litt. D. of Oxford, a LL. D. of Edinburgh, and an Honorary Fellow of Balliol College.—MAURICE DE FÉRAUDY, famous actor and former dean of the Comédie Française, died in Paris on May 12 in his 71st year. After having studied under the celebrated François Got, he made his début at the Comédie in a play of Molière. Perhaps his most famous rôle was that of Isidore Lechat in Octave Mirbeau's *Les Affaires sont les affaires*, which he created in 1903 and in which he made his American début at the Fulton Theatre in New York in 1924. In a comparison of his performance with that of the late Wm. H. Crane, critics noted that he stressed the comic aspects of the part. Other important creations of his were in *Chacun sa vie*, *Les Romanesques*, *Le Torrent* and *L'Amour brode*. At the Théâtre Français he con-

fined himself chiefly to the plays of Molière, Beaumarchais and Augier. He wrote several plays himself, notably *Tic à Tic*, *Le Béguin de Messaline* and *Leurs Amants*.—JACQUES PLOU, noted Catholic orator and writer, died in Paris on May 12 at the age of 93. He was a collaborator of the late Albert Demun.—ALBERT BRASSEUR, French comedian, who made his début at the Théâtre des Nouveautés, which had been founded by his father, Albert Brasseur, Sr., in 1890, died in Paris on May 13 at the age of 72. One of his best known rôles was that of M. de la Palisse in the very popular play of that name.—MARCEL BOULENGER, French writer, died at Chantilly on May 21 in his 59th year. He won the Prix Née in 1918, the Prix Stendhal in 1919, and was author of *Couplées*, *Le Marché aux Fleurs*, and *Les Trois Grâces*.—RENÉ DE CLERQ, Flemish national poet, died in exile at Hilversum, Holland, on June 13, at the age of 54. He had been President of the ill-starred Council of Flanders and was sentenced to death in Belgium in 1915.—FERRUCCIO CATELLANI, former director of the Argentine Philharmonic Orchestra, died in Milan on April 17.—JOSÉ MARDONES, at one time a leading basso of the Metropolitan Opera in New York, died in Madrid on May 4 at the age of 63.—JOAQUIN SALVATELLA, former Minister of Public Instruction of Spain, died in Madrid on June 4 in his 52nd year.

LITERATURE, DRAMA AND FILMS—THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT purchased on April 12th the little stone farmhouse at La Devinière, near Chinon, where, it is believed, François Rabelais was born. The action of the Government was taken in commemoration of the 400th anniversary of the publication of *Pantagruel*. According to the *New York Times* of April 24, it is "a picturesque dwelling with a steep gabled roof, high garden wall and covered exterior staircase, the stone steps of which are worn almost through." The house will be restored as nearly as possible to its primitive condition and will be opened during the year.—MSS AND BOOKS OF ANATOLE FRANCE, belonging to the library of Mmes Arman and Gaston de Caillavet, were sold at auction in Paris on June 2-3, for 500,000 francs. The highest price paid was 70,000 fr. for the MS of *Le Lys rouge*. Despite the depression the prices were unusually high.—ABEL BONNARD, poet, novelist and essayist, was elected on June 16 to the Académie Française to succeed Charles LeGoffic, whose death was recorded in the last issue of the ROMANIC REVIEW (p. 194).—PHILIPPE SOUPAULT was awarded on May 6 the \$1,000 Strassburger prize for his articles, which appeared in *Europe Nouvelle*, *Vu*, *Revue des Vivants*, *Bravo*, and other periodicals, as "contributing most to Franco-American understanding in 1931." One of his novels, *Last Night of Paris*, has been translated into English.—CLAUDE FARRÈRE, President of the Association of Author-Combatants and author of *L'Homme qui assassina*, has discovered that he was no longer alive at the time he was wounded when attempting to disarm the assassin of President Doumer, for, according to *Le Temps*, the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1929 edition) stated that he had been killed on June 27, 1917, while serving with the French tanks in Flanders.—JOHN DRINKWATER's English translation of Mussolini's historical play, *Napoleon - The Hundred Days* (cf. ROMANIC REVIEW, XXIII, 1932, p. 196), was well received in London on April 18. But when the same play was given on April 17 in German in Berlin, under its original title, *Campo di Maggio*, the performance was interrupted by an anti-Facist outburst.—THE SUCCESSFUL

PERFORMANCES of classical plays in the Greek theatre at Syracuse, Sicily, encouraged Paestum, near Naples, to give, during the last week of May, a program of plays by Theocritus in the Italian translation, as well as several choruses from the *Agamemnon*, set to music by Ildebrando Pizzetti and accompanied by classical dances.—PRESIDENT ALCALÁ ZAMORA became on May 8 the first member of the Spanish Academy to be appointed since the establishment of the Republic. He succeeded José Franco Rodríguez, the journalist.—LA PAZ, Bolivia, celebrated on April 17 the birthday anniversary of Juan Montalvo, the famous Ecuadorean writer. Four hundred volumes of his *La Pluma de Fuego* were sold at a charity auction.—RENÉ CLAIR's *A Nous la Liberté* was recently voted by 92 Parisian personalities the most interesting film of 1931, with Jean Choux's *Jean de la Lune* "a not very close but decided second," according to H. L. Matthews in the *New York Times*.—TRISTAN BERNARD's film, *La Fortune*, is described by H. L. Matthews in the *New York Times* as "a very artificial and hackneyed affair, but amusing nevertheless," while Alfred Savoir's *La Couturière de Lunéville*, a film-version of his play, is characterized as "charming," though also "artificial."—AMERICAN AND FRENCH FILMS are struggling for supremacy in Spain, with German films a bad third. Spaniards seem, for some reason, to prefer foreign films to those in which their own actors appear.—PLAYS produced in Paris during the last quarter include André Birabeau's *Folle de son corps*, an artificial work, written apparently for Mme Spinelly, which contains a double part, that of a very bad woman and a very good one, and which recalls Pierre Wolff's *La Belle de Nuit* (cf. ROMANIC REVIEW, XXIII, 1932, p. 199); young André Paul Antoine's symbolical war-play, *La Prochaine*, which Philip Carr, in the *New York Times* of May 1, characterizes as "rather infantile"; Jacques Deval's *Le Onzième Commandement* (produced at the Variétés), a rather stupid triangle comedy in which a 'strong silent' financier frightens the wits out of a musician who is in love with his wife; another war-play, *Plue jamais ça*, translated from the German, which ends with a German and a French mother (Mme Pitoëff) falling into each other's arms; young Jean Arnouilh's *l'Hermine*, a melodrama of the younger generation in which love prevails over money, and which, notwithstanding its many faults, reveals, according to Philip Carr in the *Times* of May 29, an author of "real intelligence and imagination"; a revival of Eugène Morand (father of Paul Morand) and Marcel Schwob's adaptation of *Hamlet*, given at the Comédie Française, in which Yonnel "restores to the character its dignity, its introspective philosophy and its virility," to quote Philip Carr in the *Times* of June 12; *Joë et Cie.*, a translation of Hjalmar Bergmann's Swedish farce, *Patrasket*, in which Pitoëff excelled in the part of a rich old Jewish shopkeeper; Pierre Scize's *Ludo*, at the Michel, in which an optimist who, after losing both his mistress and his fortune through false friends, is cured of love and contentedly returns to his work.—FOREIGN PLAYS AND FILMS produced recently in New York include *Tu seras duchesse*, an entertaining French film comedy, given on May 6, which was well received by critics; *La Chance*, a French dialogue film, presented on May 27, of which the acting of Mary Bell, Marcel André and Fernand Fabre, as well as the photography and direction were praised; *Le Roi des Resquilleurs* ("Gate-Crashers"), a most amusing musical film-comedy, which was given on June 12 and which featured Georges Milton, a favorite of Paris; IL MIRACOLO DI SANT'

ANTONIO, an old-fashioned Italian film, given on April 17, which was saved by the excellent acting of Sgra. Paoli and Sgr. D'Ancora, and which contained some charming views of Naples and Venice; the Guerrero-Mendoza Company's last productions, including *Tambor y Cascabel* (*Drum and Bell*), a four-act comedy by the Quinteros, given on April 29; Benavente's comedy *Cuando los hijos de Eva no son los hijos de Adán*, given on April 22, which Walter Littlefield called "diabolically well made"; and the same author's drama, *De muy buena familia*, given on April 28, which was described as "a rebuke to the laxity of family discipline"; I. Kovensky's Yiddish adaptation of Francisco S. Sancho's Spanish play, *The New Man*, which was given by Maurice Schwartz on April 21 and which treats of illegitimacy; Adelardo Fernandez Arias' productions at the Roerich Theatre, which consisted of *La Tragedia del Faro*, dramatic adventures in four acts by Sr. Arias, given on May 28; the same author's *El Clown del Circo Imperial*, given on May 30; *Pipiola*, a three-act comedy by the Quinteros given on June 3; and *Los Culpables*, by Sr. Arias, given on June 11.

MUSIC—MAURICE RAVEL's new piano concerto, which presents a synthesis of his style from his beginnings about 1895 up to the present, was the winter sensation of Paris. Although he worked at it from 10 to 12 hours a day during more than two years, the new work of the master "seems to be written from one impulse," says Henry Prunières in the *New York Times*. The close attention of an audience of 3,000 persons gathered in the Salle Pleyel, leads this same critic to conclude his enthusiastic review of the work: "Ravel is well avenged for the attacks he suffered after the war. More than ever he remains the unchallenged leader of the modern French school." It may be added that this concerto was intended for the Boston Symphony Orchestra at its 50th anniversary last year, but Ravel was unable to finish it in time. The piece was performed simultaneously on April 22 last in both Boston and Philadelphia by the Symphony Orchestras of those cities.—LA MUSIQUE POPULAIRE, the Royal Society of Brussels, held its 37th international accordeon contest this summer. The works performed included pieces by Schubert, Brungardt, Délibes, Lehar, Chaminade, Loriaux, Lauweryns as well as two novelties composed by each of the participants.—MARIO ROUSTAN, French Minister of Public Instruction, has asked the Government for a credit of 30,000,000 francs to be used for the relief of provincial operas and theatres temporarily closed for want of funds as well as of provincial symphony orchestras, formerly subsidized privately.—LE COMITÉ NATIONAL POUR LA PROPAGANDE DE LA MUSIQUE held recently a national contest for a "chant scolaire," based on Jacques Cassagne's poem, *Ronde Française*. Paul Pierné, cousin of Gabriel Pierné, the conductor-composer, received the first prize of 2,000 francs.—HENRY PRUNIÈRES, like American musical critics, is turning enthusiastically from our modern cacophony to the beautiful simplicity of ancient music. In reviewing a concert of the Paris Society of Ancient Music in the *New York Times*, he states that the "Representations of the Mind and the Body," by Emilio de Cavalieri (1601), contains "music of great nobility, grandeur and spirituality, which confirmed the expressive power of the new type of Florentine recitative which was to be the source of all the superb following of modern opera." He even has a good word for the old instruments, praising "the incomparable freshness of tonality" of the antique oboe, "the nobility

and expressive charm" of the old harpsichord, which our modern reproductions lack, and "the unique sweetness" of the ivory flute. The above remarks may well be contrasted with what the same critic says of a recent rendering of a suite of pieces by Charles Ives, "whose violence achieved a 'knockout,'" as well as of that of Edgar Varèse's new "Arcana": "There were no outbursts . . . Thus the ear and the spirit accustomed itself little by little to the most horrible effects of atonality and polyrhythmy."—OFFENBACH'S *LA VIE PARISIENNE* was so successful at the Mogador Theatre in Paris, where it had more than 400 performances, that the directors undertook to present the same composer's *Orphée aux Enfers*.—THE PARIS OPÉRA announces for early production Alfred Bachelet's interesting opera, *Le Jardin sur l'Oronte*, of which the book by Franc-Nohain is based on the novel of Maurice Barrès.—ALBERT DOYEN finished recently *Abasvérus*, an opera in three acts and seven scenes.—MARIUS LAMBERT's new opera in four acts, *Francesca*, book by Michel Carré, will be given at the Opéra-Comique.—DARIUS MILHAUD, composer of *Maximilien* and *Columbus*, is now setting to music Claudel's *L'Annonce faite à Marie*.—A MONUMENT to Claude Debussy, famous French composer, erected in Paris on the Boulevard Lannes near the Bois de Boulogne, was dedicated on June 17. The monument, a symbolic fountain pool in modern style, was made by the sculptors Jan and Joël Martel. During the evening a music festival was held at the Champs Elysées Théâtre, in which Toscanini conducted *La Mer* and the fourth act of *Pelléas et Mélisande*, sung by Mary Garden. Another monument to the composer will soon be dedicated at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Debussy's birthplace.—JACQUES ROUCHÉ withdrew in April his resignation as director of the Opéra upon the decision of the Government to increase its subsidy from 6,000,000 to 9,000,000 francs. Plans have also been made to broadcast the Opéra's performances.—GUSTAVE CHARPENTIER won a decision in the Paris courts on May 3 against a music publishing firm which had adapted airs from *Louise* for a fox-trot.—THE ITALIAN ACADEMY has presented the newly discovered Verdi-Cesare de Sanctis correspondence, given to it by Enrico Garda, to the Museum of La Scala in Milan.—VERDI's unusual popularity at the present time is attributed by Francis Toye in his excellent new work, *Giuseppe Verdi: His Life and His Works*, on the one hand to "reaction against Wagner, reaction against mere complexity," and, on the other, to "present dearth of great composers."—RECENT OPERA PREMIÈRES in Italian theatres include Respighi's *Bélkis*; Cortopassi's *Sani's Poesia*, given in Genoa; Arrigo Pedrollo's *Primavera Fiorentina*, produced at La Scala in Milan; and Cassella's *La Donna Serpente*, presented at the Teatro Rèale in Rome. Malipiero's *Il falso Arlecchino* was given its world première in the State Theatre at Budapest.—LUIGI FERRARI-TRECATE, the organist composer of Parma, recently finished a comic opera entitled *Le Astuzie di Bertoldo*, of which the libretto is by Carlo Zangarini.—PRIMO RICCIPELLI's NEW OPERA, *Madonna Oretta*, which was given its first performance in March at the Royal Opera in Rome, is based on the comedy of the same name by Gioacchino Forzano. It deals with Florentine life of the cinquecento, and its music, though touched with modernity, adheres to the Italian melodic tradition.—PIZZETTI's austere Biblical drama, *Debora e Jael*, conducted by Marinuzzi, was received very coldly at the Royal Opera in Rome.—THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS of the Teatro Regio of Turin, presided over by Gioacchino Forzano,

revised the negative verdict which had been recently returned by the jury of its opera contest, and awarded two "encouragement" prizes, the first prize going to Luigi Malatesta for his *Sir Oluf* and the second to Enrico Giachetti for his *Princess of Brabant*.—THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL MODERN MUSIC FESTIVAL, to be held in September at the biennial art exhibition at Venice, will offer novelties by the following Italian composers: Respighi, Casella, Malipiero and Casávola (chamber operas); Wolf-Ferrari, Zandonai, Montemezzi, Pick-Mangiallari, Sinigaglia, Pedrollo, Castelnuovo-Tedesco, Labroca, Tommasini, Davico, Cattozzo, Bianchini, and Agostini.—ENNIO PORRINO's lyric *Traccas* (Sard dialect for "ox-carts") won recently the first prize of the national song contest sponsored by Respighi, Mulè, Perosi, Giordano and Mascagni. "Porrino (Cagliari, 1910), Mulè's pupil, excels in vocal compositions," says Raymond Hall in the *New York Times* of May 1, "particularly of Sardinian folk derivation, having won also the Rome Governatore's 1929 contest for children's songs."—GINO MARINUZZI's three-act melodramatic opera on Gioacchino Forzano's libretto, *Palla de' Mozzi*, was warmly received at La Scala in Milan on April 5, notwithstanding its reactionary esthetic tenets and a mediocre cast. According to Raymond Hall, writing in the *New York Times* of May 1, the composer has discarded his "former cult of Wagner and Strauss, shown in his symphonically and orchestrally powerful *Jacquerie* (Buenos Aires, 1918)," and has returned to earlier predilections: "Verdian recitative, Italian folklore, laudi, and classic vocal polyphony."—THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF MUSIC AND LYRIC THEATRES, a new organization formed in Spain, recently gave a banquet to Fernando de los Ríos, Minister of Public Education, and to Miguel de Unamuno, who had been instrumental in forming the Council, the purpose of which is to improve the condition of the lyric arts in Spain. The Government recently granted the Council an annual subsidy of 1,000,000 pesetas for its projects. Amadeo Vives, composer of many popular zarzuelas, notably *Doña Francisquita*, has been appointed chairman of a committee comprising Eduardo Marquina and Mauricio Bacarisse, to organize the national comic opera, on which about 70% of the subsidy will be spent.—THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT has engaged in the very praiseworthy task of fostering the national folklore. Hence it invited the following regional song and dance groups to take part in the national anniversary celebrations in Madrid: Chorus of Ruada (Galicia); the Vaquerios of Alzada (Asturias); "espatadanzaris" (sword-dancers) from the Basque provinces; the "danzantes" of San Leonardo (Soria), who gave "danzas de palillos," survivals of ancient war-dances, possibly of Celto-Iberian origin; the Amigos del Arts (Pamplona) and Maragato couples (Léon); "alcaldesas" from Segovia; "bailes lagarteranos" from Toledo; "charros" from Salamanca; "rondallas" from Aragón and Valencia; "carvajalinas" from Zamorra; and a gypsy "zambra" from the Sacro Monte del Albaicín (Granada).—MANUEL DE FALLA's latest work, *Soneto a Córdoba*, is a setting for the voice and harp of the poetry of Luis de Góngora. The work is an evocation, in the idiom of today, of Spanish 16th century music.

ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY—THE AMERICAN ART DEALERS ASSOCIATION announced recently that during 1931 the American public received \$136,242,-187 in gifts of paintings, sculpture, and facilities for art appreciation and education. Of this sum the major portion, amounting to \$102,785,000, consisted of newly opened museums and private collections willed to the public, such as

the Henry Walters collection, valued at \$15,000,000, left to the city of Baltimore, and the Henry Clay Frick collection, worth approximately \$50,000,000, bequeathed by his widow to New York City. Museums recently created or receiving donations include the Metropolitan Museum of Art, N. Y. Public Library and Whitney Museum of American Art, in New York; Smithsonian Institution, in Washington; Addison Gallery of American Art, Andover, Mass.; Jocelyn Memorial, Omaha, Nebr.; John and Mabel Ringling Museum, Sarasota, Fla.; Alabama Museum of Fine Arts, Montgomery; Louis T. Haggin Memorial, Stockton, Calif.; Anderson Art Gallery, Richmond, Va.; Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago; Anna B. Singer Memorial, Hagerstown, Md.; and Benjamin West Memorial, Swarthmore, Penna. Grants and gifts to cities, museums and colleges for the purchase and maintenance of art collections amounted to \$30,623,200.—THE WILLIAM ROCKHILL NELSON ART GALLERY, now being constructed at Kansas City, Mo., at a cost of \$3,500,000, will be ready for occupancy in the early autumn. Since Mr. Nelson left also an endowment of \$12,000,000 for the museum, its directors have already been able to add many fine paintings to the collection he bequeathed. However, contemporary artists will not be represented in the Museum because of a restriction in the endowment. Among the recent purchases by this gallery is Vincent van Gogh's "Les Oliviers."—THE CHICAGO ART INSTITUTE held from March 31 to June 1 its 12th international exhibition of water-colors. Of the five prizes awarded, the Logan prize went to Lucien Genin of France for his "Place du Tertre."—THE CINCINNATI ART MUSEUM acquired in March El Greco's "Crucifixion with a View of Toledo." The work is characteristic of the artist's final period, about 1604 to 1614.—THE CLEVELAND MUSEUM OF ART purchased recently from the Gustave Dreyfus collection in Paris a marble plaque in high relief, representing the profile of a singing boy's head, by Luca Della Robbia. This beautiful portrait is said to be the sole example in the United States of marble sculpture by the famous Renaissance artist, since the only specimens of his work heretofore existing in American museums and collections are enameled terra cotta reliefs. According to the Museum's announcement this plaque has "much the same quality which makes of the Cantatoria, or Singing Gallery," which Della Robbia made for the Duomo of Florence between 1431 and 1438, "the most perfect example of rhythmic sound and movement in all the history of the plastic arts." The earliest known owner of this masterpiece was Eugène Piot, who was a friend of Victor Hugo and Théophile Gautier, and who founded the *Cabinet de l'Amateur*, an art review that ran from 1842 to 1846. In 1864 it passed to another collector, Charles Timbal, a descendant of the 18th century artist, Drouais. After the Franco-Prussian War Timbal sold his entire collection to Dreyfus. The Cleveland Museum announced also on March 8 the purchase of a "Nude" by Picasso. The painting belongs to the artist's 'rose period,' which followed his journey to Holland in 1905.—THE DETROIT INSTITUTE OF ARTS received on March 12 the gift of a "Portrait of a Woman," by Picasso. The painting belongs to the artist's 'classical period.'—A FRAGONARD SKETCH BOOK, containing more than 120 drawings, was recently purchased by G. S. Hellman, of New York, from a descendant of the artist, Georges Huot of Paris. They are the products of Fragonard's first sojourn in Italy. Hitherto less than a dozen of the artist's drawings of this period were known, and these are to be found in

the Musée de Besançon and in the Rothschild and Mortimer Schiff collections.—THE SIR WILLIAM BENNETT COLLECTION of bronzes, paintings and porcelains, gathered together over a half century by the famous London surgeon who died on Dec. 24, 1931, will be sold at auction in New York. The most important work in the collection is the so-called "lost" Velasquez, "The Barber Surgeon," believed to be a portrait of Michelangelo, barber surgeon to Pope Innocent X. This painting was shown in the exhibition of old Spanish masters at the Grafton Galleries in London in 1913 and 1914.—JOSEPH PIJOAN, of the University of Chicago, delivered before the College Art Association in New York on March 31 a lecture entitled "Unknown Treasure Found in the Royal Palace in Madrid," dealing with works of art discovered after the departure of King Alfonso. These included 15 works by Tiepolo, depicting Venetian scenes, 13 sets of fifteenth century Flemish tapestry, most of which the royal family relegated to the basement of the Palace.—SAMUEL INSULL of Chicago presented recently to the Library of Stevens Institute of Technology at Hoboken, N. J., the late John W. Lieb's collection of 1200 items consisting of books, facsimiles, etc., dealing with the scientific researches and inventions of Leonardo da Vinci.—ELIZABETH L. CARY, in an article entitled "Fame of Daumier Increases," which appeared in the *New York Times* of April 10, notes that "between 5,000 and 6,000 examples" of the above artist's work have been displayed in numerous exhibitions, both in Europe and America, during the past few years.—THE MEDIEVAL ACADEMY OF AMERICA announced, on April 23, the discovery by its mission at Cluny of the sarcophagus of Pontius de Melgueil, elected Abbot of Cluny in 1109, who, because of having incurred the displeasure of the Vatican, was recalled to Rome, where he died in prison in 1125. In the tomb were found the broken crook of the Abbot as well as his golden vestments, which were in excellent condition. According to the *New York Times* of May 8 this tomb was hailed as "one of the most interesting archaeological finds for some time in France."—ITALY'S FIRST STATUE of George Washington, a seven-foot marble bust, was unveiled in Florence on June 1. It was presented to the city by American residents.—FRANK WEITENKAMPF, curator of prints at the New York Public Library, states in his annual report for 1931 that a record kept from May to December shows that of 133 artists whose prints were most in demand by students 26 were French, 23 British, 2 German, 1 Australian, 1 Spanish, 1 Dutch, 3 Scandinavian, 5 Japanese, 57 American and 14 old print-makers before 1800. Of the prints accessioned during the year, 36 were purchased and 2,969 were gifts.—HENRI MATISSE is finishing a set of mural decorations for the Barnes Foundation at Merion, Pa., one of which is 14 x 40 feet in size. They will be exhibited in Paris before being installed at Merion next winter.—JOSÉ C. OROZCO, the Mexican artist, is now at work on 10 large murals which he has donated to the Baker Library at Dartmouth College. They will represent the Epic of Civilization and will have as dominating motif the myth of Quetzalcoatl, the Mexican culture hero and patron of arts and crafts.—PROF. JEAN CAPART, the noted Belgian Egyptologist, has finally completed the work of re-arranging the extensive exhibits in the Egyptian Hall at the Brooklyn Museum.—PROF. G. H. EDGELL's *History of Sieneese Painting*, with 441 illustrations, was published in New York in the latter part of June. Siena opened this Summer its new museum, housed in three Renaissance palaces, which pre-

sents the chronological history of Sieneſe painting, beginning with Duccio and deſcending through the decorative and narrative lines.—THE ART COLLECTION of Lady Curzon of Kedleſton, which was ſold at auction in New York on April 22, brought more than \$93,000. The higheſt price, \$31,000, was paid for François Boucher's "Vénus conſolant l'Amour," dated 1751. Next was Vigée-Lebrun's "Duchesse de Polignac" (ca. 1782), which brought \$16,500. Greuze's "Head of a Young Boy" brought \$5,200, and his "Head of a Young Girl," \$4,600. Other works ſold included Gianpetrino, "Madonna and Child"; Girolamo da Santa Croce, "Virgin and Child with SS. Anthony and Catherine"; and a tondo by Bernardino Luini.—THE STOTESBURY COLLECTION, conſiſting chiefly of Britiſh works of art, has been loaned to the Pennſylvania Muſeum of Art. The largeſt aſſemblage of ſuch works in America is to be found in the Huntington Gallery in California.—RENOIR's "Young Girl with a Hoop" was ſold in Paris on June 9 to Cheſter Dale, of New York, for \$12,519. At the ſame ſale works of Van Gogh, Cézanne, Corot and Courbet brought from \$5,850 to \$11,700 apiece.—GIORGIONE's famous painting, "The Tempeſt," was purchaſed on Feb. 14 by the Italian Government from Prince Alberto Giovanelli of Venice for a price reputed to be \$250,000. Although a few years ago the Prince was offered by an American dealer \$1,000,000 for this "moſt valuable privately owned canvas in the world," he was unable to accept the offer becauſe of the Italian law forbidding the exportation of works of art. "The Tempeſt," picturing the Madonna and Child in the centre of a ſtorm, is one of leſs than a ſcore of authenticated works produced by Giorgione during his ſhort life (1447-1511), much of the latter part of which he ſpent ſtudiying with Titian and Palma Vecchio under Giovanni Bellini. The higheſt price thus far brought by a painting is \$800,000, paid in 1921 for Gainsborough's "Blue Boy," which now hangs in the Henry E. Huntington Gallery in California.—VENICE's 18th International Art Exhibition, which was opened early in the Summer, contains four galleries devoted to American art, one of them limited to works by American Indians.—ITALIAN MUSEUMS, feeling the pinch of the economic depression, have petitioned the Government to re-eſtabliſh the entrance fees which were aboliſhed ſome three years ago. As more than 3,500,000 perſons viſited the muſeums and archaeological excavations of Italy during 1930, opponents of this meaſure fear a decline in the public's reawakened intereſt in the art treaſures of the paſt.—THE HÔTEL DE SENS, one of the fineſt Renaiſſance buildings in Paris, will be repaired and converted into a library, according to a deciſion of the Paris Municipal Council, which had already voted to houſe the Ferney collection of books on industrial art there. The Hôtel was built from 1474 to 1519 for the Archbishops of Sens, and among the famous perſons who lived in it during the courſe of the century were Cardinal Duprat, Louis de Guise, who was Cardinal of Lorraine, Cardinal de Pellvé and Marguerite de Valois.—THE LIÈGE MUSEUM of Belgium received recently a bequeſt of ſome 500 ſundials, collected by the late Max Eiskamp, founder of the Antwerp Volklore Muſeum.—THE CHÂTEAU DE CHAMBORD became definitely, on April 13, the property of the French Government, according to a verdict of the Cour de Caſſation. Under the Treaty of Verſailles the Government had appropriated the property as belonging to Prince Elie de Bourbon-Parma, an Auſtrian alien. His rights, however, were conteſted by Princes Sixte and Xavier de Bourbon-Parma, who reſide

in France.—A RECENT INVENTORY OF ART OBJECTS in France reveals that the museums of Paris alone possess 343,110 treasures. Of these the Louvre is represented by 182,779; Saint-Germain 76,357; Cluny 25,588; Guimet 17,980; Malmaison 11,000; Versailles 7,074; Blérancourt 1,445; and Maison-Laffitte 500.—THE PARIS JUNE SALON contained, notwithstanding the economic depression, the largest number of exhibits in its history. Nearly 7,000 paintings and pieces of sculpture were accepted by the jury.—THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE organized last Spring an exhibition of drawings, medals and two paintings, by Pisanello.—THE ACADEMIE DES BEAUX ARTS reported recently that more damage had been done to the stones of Notre Dame, La Sainte Chapelle, Chartres Cathedral and other monuments in the last half century by smoke and soot from factories than by all the weathering of previous ages. In fact, the disintegration has been so rapid that it is believed that most of the monuments of Paris will have to be entirely restored in the course of the century. Consequently, experts are seeking some sort of polish in order to protect the stones.—THAT FUTURIST PAINTINGS are now definitely *démodés* may be seen from the fact that at an exhibition at the Palais des Beaux Arts in Brussels early in April, they were exchanged for feminine finery.—THE SPANISH REPUBLIC converted recently some 1,100 historic showplaces, such as the cathedrals of Toledo, Seville, Burgos and Cordoba, into national monuments. Exportation of historic treasures is now forbidden.—THE CITY OF BARCELONA has requested of the city of Brussels the donation of a statue of Ferrer, erected by Belgian sympathizers.—RENÉ DUSSAUD, an official of the Louvre, was sued, in March, for libel by the Fradin family of Glozel for having declared that the supposedly pre-historic objects found on their farm were false. The case revived the whole Glozel controversy, for the many scientists called as witnesses gave conflicting opinions.—AN ETRUSCAN TOMB, pronounced by some archaeologists one of the most important ever discovered, was found recently near Cecina in the Province of Pisa. Because of its circular form, with a vaulted ceiling and rectangular vestibule, as well as of the great number of objects it contained, it has been declared to even exceed in interest the famous tomb found at Casale Marittimo in 1898.—FRANCESCO MONOTTI, writing in the *New York Times* of May 22, labels the works of the following artists as the most important in recent Italian exhibitions: Arturo Martini and Primo Conti in Florence; and, in Rome, Bogliardi, Ghiringelli and Lilloni of the Lombard School; Giuseppe Cesetti, Pieretto Bianco and Bragaglia.—THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART, of New York, opened early in June a splendid Summer Exhibition of works of Cézanne, Picasso, Braque, Modigliani, Léger, Mondriaan and other cubistic artists. The following excerpts from the Catalogue may be of interest: "One of the major interests of early 20th century painters has been formal design—the arrangement or composition of color, line and shape, often without much respect for the natural appearance of the objects represented. Cubism carried this interest to an extreme. Cubism was invented by two Parisian painters, Picasso and Braque, about 1908. They based their new style upon the painting of Cézanne and primitive Negro sculpture." This sculpture furnished inspiration for the geometrical planes so frequently used by the cubists. "Ultimately, about 1915, Mondriaan and several other European painters began to design in pure rectangles of primary colors," and it was not long thereafter that cubism ran its course.—THE

BROOKLYN MUSEUM held, during the Summer, an exhibition of drawings of Parisian life and costumes by Paul Gavarni (Sulpice Guillaume Chevalier, 1801-66) and Constantin Guys. "If Baudelaire is tepid concerning Gavarni," says Elizabeth L. Cary in the *New York Times* of May 29, "he fires with enthusiasm when he names Guys. Only he does not name him. Guys in the excessive pride of his humility forbade that. On the pages of Baudelaire, therefore, Guys becomes 'M. G.,' a futile effort at incognito uncovered in the modern edition of *Variétés Critiques*, edited by M. Faure."—ART EXHIBITIONS held in New York during the past few months include the following with dates of opening: *Jan. 12*, a display of examples of *surréalisme* by a number of artists among whom the Romance countries were represented by Salvador Dali, Picasso, Pierre Roy, Jean Viollier and Jean Cocteau; *Jan. 28*, water-colors by Pierre Brissaud, cousin of Bernard Boutet de Monvel, and sculpture by Fausta Mengarini, daughter of the scientist, Senator Guglielmo Mengarini and niece of Max Lieberman, the German artist; *Jan. 30*, paintings, sculpture and other works by the American students of the Fontainebleau School of France; *Feb. 4*, an exhibition called "Paris and Its People," consisting of works of artists of many nations and among whom France was represented by Watteau (1684-1721), whose "Une Élégante de Paris" was included, Containtin Guys, Pissarro, Degas, Monet, Henri Rousseau, Seurat, Maxime Maufra, Toulouse-Lautrec, Matisse, Albert André, Utrillo and Pierre Lamure; *Feb. 5*, works of Juan Gris, or José Gonzales (born in Madrid, 1887, and died in Paris, 1927), which, according to Maurice Raynal's *Modern French Painters*, are neither "cubistic" nor "naturalistic," but derive purely "from the esthetic system by which they were conceived"; works of Léger, Masson and Roux, called the "enfants terribles" of Paris; cubistic works of Henri Burkhard; *Feb. 14*, modern Catalan paintings, assembled with the aid of the Director of the Museum of Vich, an exhibition which the College Art Association displayed throughout the country; *Feb. 19*, prints by artists of several nations, the French being Delacroix, Daumier, Manet, Pissarro, Renoir, Degas, Cézanne, Forain (5 etchings), Matisse, Picasso, Derain, Segonzac, Signac, Rouault and Marie Laurencin; *Feb. 23*, a comparative exhibition of André Derain and Maurice de Vlaminck at the Museum of French Art; *March 5*, an exhibition of Italian art (15th-18th centuries) part of which was shown in the Esposizione d'Arte Italiana, held in Birmingham last year, and which included works by Albertinelli, Titian, Andrea del Sarto, Correggio, Giulio Campi, Bronzino, Tintoretto, Caravaggio, Veronese, Giaquinto, Canaletto, Tiepolo, Pannini and Marieschi; *March 6*, ceramics by Artigas, the Spanish potter, one of whose works was purchased by the Metropolitan Museum of Art; *March 11*, paintings of children and flowers, by many artists including Picasso, Matisse, Fantin-Latour, Redon, Boutet de Monvel, Jules Pascin, Derain and Renoir; "Fifty Years of French Painting" from Renoir to Modigliani, including also Pissarro, Redon, Degas, Corot and Asselin; *March 23*, works of Cézanne, Gauguin and Redon; *March 30*, 189 French prints (15th-20th centuries) at the Museum of French Art, including works by Etienne Delaune, Jean Duvet, Claude Lorrain, Jacques Callot, Nanteuil, Hubert Robert, Fragonard, Corot, Delacroix, Daumier, Millet, Meryon, Pissarro, Manet, Degas, Rodin, Helleu, Forain, Besnard, and Matisse; *April 15*, water-colors, drawings and prints by Carlos Merida, a Gautemalan artist, who for the past 12 years has been one of the leaders of the Mexican

Renaissance, of which the other figures are Diego Rivera, Orozco, Siqueiros, Tamayo, Goita, Gamio, Amero, and Charlot; *April 16*, an array of "Naval and Military Portraits," in which the Latin nations were represented by Corot, Degas, Renoir, Goya, Antonio Moro, and Louis Tocqué; *May 8*, "French Cartoons from Daumier to the Present," including Lautrec, Steinlen, Forain, Legrand, Huart, Léandre, Gerbault, Willette, Rabia, Iribe and Balluriau; *May 18*, Mexican drawings by Count René d'Harnoncourt and superb lithographs by Diego Rivera; *June 18*, etchings and water-colors by Mily Possoz and Raphael Schwartz.

MISCELLANEOUS—LA MAISON FRANÇAISE, dedicated to the industry, art and trade of France, is now being constructed in the Rockefeller Centre on Fifth Ave., at 49th St., New York. The structure, consisting of six stories, will contain offices for French governmental representatives, stores and exhibition rooms for merchandise, works of art, etc. Thus, one of the floors will be devoted entirely to ornamental display cabinets of metal and glass, comprising 437 exhibits. It was announced on June 1 that the Centre will also contain an Italian Building. Plans therefor, which have been approved by Premier Mussolini, include a four-story arcade, similar to the famous arcades of Milan and Naples. This arcade will be flanked with colorful shops and exhibition rooms on the main floor and with several galleries. The floor will be decorated in mozaic patterns and the ceiling adorned with murals.—ANTONIO MEUCCI, whose claim to the invention of the telephone was officially vindicated by the Italian Government in 1923, was the subject of recent memorial services held on the lawn of the Garibaldi Memorial on Staten Island, N. Y. Meucci first came to Staten Island in 1845, and in 1856 installed his first telephone in the little house which he shared with Garibaldi during the two years of the latter's exile.—SYSTEMATIC EXCAVATION of the ruins of Louisburg Fortress, near Sydney, N. S., which has been carried on during the past two years, revealed what is believed to be the body of the Duc d'Anville, High Admiral of France and commander of the fleet which came to succor Louisburg in 1746. After the capture of the fortress by the New England Militia in 1745, d'Anville set sail from France with a great armada in order to recapture it. Discouraged by the destruction of his fleet by storms and the decimation of his men by scurvy, d'Anville died suddenly in his cabin, Sept. 27, 1746. After Cape Breton was restored to France by treaty, Gov. Cornwallis gave permission for the removal of the Duke's body to Louisburg. The fortress, however, which had been scientifically laid out by Vauban, was demolished by British engineers after its final capture in 1758.—THE COURRIER DES ÉTATS-UNIS, founded in June, 1828, suspended on June 3 last its daily edition. It is now appearing as a Sunday weekly. Léon Meunier, its one-time editor, was largely responsible for the gift by the French Government to the United States of the Statue of Liberty, according to a statement by Bartholdi, its sculptor.—OF THE 36 MAYORS OF NEW YORK, before the Revolution, 10 were of French descent of whom 8 were Huguenots, according to *Le Messager*, published by the Eglise du Saint-Esprit of New York. This same church founded recently a Musée Huguenot de New York.—THE AMERICAN CONGRESS passed on May 11 a resolution changing the official spelling of Porto Rico to Puerto Rico.—THE FEDERAL CENSUS issued on March 30 gives some interesting figures

on the mother tongues of the foreign-born white population of the United States. More than 3,000,000 persons, or 23%, gave English or Celtic as their mother tongue, more than 2,000,000, or 16%, German, and more than 1,000,000 a Scandinavian tongue. The above language groups, along with Flemish and Dutch, accounted for almost 50% of the foreign-born white population. Of the remaining 50%, Italian led with 1,808,239, followed by Yiddish with 1,222,658, Polish with a little less than 1,000,000, and French with more than 500,000, of whom the majority were French Canadians. The following are the figures for the Romance tongues for the states of New York, New Jersey and Connecticut, in the order given: Italian 633,342; 192,154; 87,621, or a total of 913,117; French 63,321; 13,022; 28,919, or a total of 105,262; Spanish 44,362; 6,948; 1,276, or a total of 52,586; and Portuguese, 6,096; 4,001; 2,531, or a total of 12,628.—THE UNITED STATES WAR DEPARTMENT has undertaken to save from further menace of the sea the famous old Spanish fortress of El Morro at San Juan, Puerto Rico. Six years ago a 50-foot section of its walls crumbled into the ocean. El Morro, of which the first stones were laid about 1580, has been called by the *Puerto Rico Progress* "the most elaborate" as well the "the best preserved" of the fortifications in America, which the Spaniards built in the early days. Besides three tiers of batteries facing the sea, it contained barracks, bombproofs, warehouses, chapel, water-tanks and officers' quarters.—THE CENTENARY OF THE DEATH OF Baron Georges Léopold de Cuvier (Aug. 23, 1769-May 13, 1832), the founder of the science of comparative anatomy, was observed with special services on May 29 in the Eglise du Saint-Esprit, French Protestant Church of New York.—THE GOVERNMENT OF RUMANIA accepted on April 20 the offer of C. D. Pugsley of Peekskill, N. Y., to establish an institute of international affairs under the auspices of the University of Bucharest. Other governments which have recently accepted such institutes are Holland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Brazil.—AN EXHIBITION of Rumanian art, industry and handicraft was opened in New York on June 24. Paintings by Elie Cristoloveanu and Nicolae Grant and brilliantly colored rugs, handwoven silks, dresses, art embroideries, tapestries, and spun and woven antiques were the principal features of the display.—THE CORNERSTONE of the American Embassy and office building, now being erected on the Place de la Concorde in Paris, was laid on May 25. Besides the Embassy rooms, the edifice, which will be completed in June, 1933, will contain offices of the Treasury and Commerce Departments and various commissions.—THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE issued in 1931 the following valuable works: *Répertoire des Richesses des Bibliothèques provinciales de France*, rédigé par les Conservateurs des Bibliothèques de Province; a facsimile edition of Rabelais' *Ile Sonnante* (exemplaire unique, 1562); and *Opuscules et Petits Traictéz de Clément Marot*, a work, surreptitiously published, of which the poet complains in the prologue of the *Adolescence Clémentine*.—FRENCH PURISTS are seeking a substitute for the English "week-end." Word-coiners have suggested *ouiquende*, *Phebda*, *trêve-labeur* and *la relâche*.—THE SPANISH CORTES passed on June 23 the second article of the Catalan statute establishing equality of the Castilian and Catalan tongues in Catalonia. "The article provides," according to the *New York Times* of June 24, "that Castilian is to be used for official communication with the rest of Spain and that all official orders and dispositions of the Catalan government

shall be published in both languages, with citizens having a choice of languages in the courts." At the same time a Commission was created in Barcelona to prepare an exclusively Catalan dictionary, by eliminating all Spanish words from the language. Translations and textbooks never before printed in Catalan are now being issued, and a drive is also being made against Castilian newspapers of Barcelona. The success of the separatist movement is mainly due to the efforts of the organization known as "Nosaltres Sols" ("We Alone"), created recently in imitation of the Irish "Sinn Fein" ("We Ourselves"). It is now expected that the Basques, Galicians, Valencians and others will demand the same rights. In regard to the Catalan vote Unamuno remarked: "It is like giving Breton equal rights with French."—LATIN may hereafter be discarded from medical prescriptions if the proposal of certain French physicians is heeded. They argue that it is a waste of time to compel medical students to learn to write Latin phrases when French would do as well. However, a writer in *Le Temps* objects to such a change on the grounds that the mysterious vocabulary of the physicians is a tonic in itself. And it may be added that the plays of Molière would lose thereby much of their significance.—THE CONFLICT BETWEEN ITALY AND GREAT BRITAIN over the abolition of Italian as the language of the law courts of Malta and as a subject for compulsory study in the schools of the island was settled on June 15 by the victory in the general elections of the Nationalist Party, which supported Italian. There is, however, much resentment among the Constitutionalists, supporting Britain, who hold, according to the *New York Times* of June 16, that "the Nationalists are linked with the Church and with Italy and support the Fascist declaration that Malta is 'a part of Italy unredeemed.'"—THE HISTORIC HAFOD CHURCH, near Aberystwith, Wales, was destroyed by fire on April 24. Among the many treasures that were lost was a stained glass window taken from a French abbey during the Revolution.—THE JESUITS, who were expelled from Spain in January last, have established themselves in Belgium at Meerbeek, near Brussels; at Marneffe, near Huy; and at Kain and Marquain, near Tournai. The Socialist journal, *Peuple*, demanded that they should be forced to pay for coming into the country, but the Government seemed to be glad to welcome the teaching order.—AIMÉ BERTHOD, French Under-Secretary for Fine Arts, approved recently the plans prepared by Henri Verne, Director of National Museums, which call for an expansion of the Louvre at an estimated cost of \$1,200,000. According to the *New York Times* of March 27, "45 more galleries will be provided" in the section that runs along the Quai des Tuileries. This will be done "by moving the collection of ship models of the Musée de la Marine over to the Invalides," "by clearing the space above the Rubens Gallery" and "by partitioning the Pavillon de Flore."—PARIS MANUFACTURERS of "eaux gazeuses" have established a literary prize. "Contestants," according to the *New York Times*, "must write a tale of 200 lines to the glory of water and carbonic acid." As Mme de Sévigné once wrote tenderly of drinking water as "sweet, gracious, melting," a writer in the *Paris Temps* suggests that she might have been successful in such a competition, "fairly bubbling with good spirits."—A FILM dedicated to the history of the Legion of Honor was recently exhibited to the Legion's pensioners who are now installed in their new home in the Château du Val, in the forest of St. Germain.—A GROUP OF FRENCH POETS gave a banquet recently at which each guest

was obliged to read a poem free of adjectives. This aroused the ire of a writer in *Le Temps* who not only likes adjectives, but even three at a time. And to uphold his point of view he cites striking examples of the triple arrangement from famous works.—AN ÉCOLE DES ORATRICES has been established in Paris for the purpose of training women to take an effective part in parliamentary debate.—THE FRENCH ACADEMY's time-honored landau is no more. Recently when two members set forth to make the official presentation of the Academy's new grammar to the President of the Republic, they rode prosaically in an automobile.—LES AUBERGES DE LA JEUNESSE, a "hiking" association, has arranged to provide shelters at convenient places throughout France where young walkers may obtain lodgings at 2 or 3 francs a night and where they may cook their own meals in community style.—THE ITALIAN STATE TOURIST AGENCY has issued a gastronomical guide-book of Italy.—PHYSICIANS of Lima, Peru, went on a strike on May 14 in protest against the Government's closing of the University of San Marcos. The closing has prevented hospital internes from getting their diplomas.—STUDENTS in Brazil rioted on April 27 in protest against increased tuition fees.

J. L. G.

